For the
X'MAS WEEK
the film you ought to see:
MIRACLE OF LIFE
at
WEST END CINEMA
Churney Road.

The Bombay Chronicle

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, IN 1913

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are those who can but will not marry; people who are of opinion that they can get more out of Life by remaining Single.
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VOL. IV NO. 308 BOMBAY: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1916. ONE ANNA.

SHIPPING

P. & O. AND BRITISH INDIA.

(Companies Incorporated in England.)

MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICES.

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STEAMERS of the P. & O. Co. will be despatched to London, calling at Marseilles, at frequent intervals.

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Japan Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.
(Incorporated in Japan.)
To Japan via Singapore, Hongkong and Shanghai.

Steamers.	Commanders.	Tons.	
Rangoon Maru	Y. Kobayashi	5343	Will sail from Bombay in December 1916, and January. 1917.
Yetorofu Maru	S. Hirata ..	4166	
Yoshin Maru.	R. Ozaki. ..	4173	
Yoboshi Maru..	S. Kishimoto	4098	
Penang Maru...	S. Kushibiki.	5280	

For Freight apply to—
T. KAWAGUCHI,
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Hornby Road, Bombay.

OSAKA SHOSEN KAISHA.

(Incorporated in Japan.)
HEAD OFFICE:—OSAKA, JAPAN.
Fleet 128 Vessels, Gross Tonnage 619,057.
Twice a month from Bombay to Japan via Singapore.

Steamers.	Tons	Commanders.	Arrivals.	Departures
Suruga Maru.2	3078	S. Nakagawa	27th Dec.	4th Jan17
Kusajiri Maru.	4062	K. Sakurai	28th Dec.	7th Jan.17
Izuho Maru ..	4099	D. Ogawa ..	1st Jan. 17	11thJan17
Malay Maru ..	4518	M. Nemoto...	18th Jan.	29th Jan.
Bangei Maru -	2768	....	25th Jan	3rd Feb.

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CITY AND HALL LINES.

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	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.
Marseilles .. London via Marseilles	556	883	420	630
	630	1,033	480	720
Liverpool	600	90	52	675
London via Marseilles out from Liverpool	..	943	..	713

Owing to the war, rates of passage and dates of sailing subject to alteration or cancelment without liability to the Company.

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A. and C. Class steamers have Electric Light and Fan, fitted in each cabin FREE OF CHARGE.

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FOR BUNDER-ABBAS, BAHREIN, BUSHIRE AND MOHAMERAH.

S.S. UNKAI MARU NO. 7, 2143 tons, will sail on or about the 15th January, 1917.

S.S. NICHIREN MARU, 2002 tons, will sail on or about the 18th January, 1917.

S.S. ASIA MARU, 2416 tons, will sail on or about the 27th January, 1917.

FOR COLOMBO, SINGAPORE AND HONGKONG.

S.S. BANDAI MARU, 3227 tons, will sail on or about the 7th January, 1917.

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THE PERSIAN GULF S N CO LTD.

Steamers are despatched at regular intervals to Persian Gulf and Red Sea Ports via Karachi.

1st and 2nd class passengers' accommodation. Deck passengers also carried.

Present sailings are as follows:—

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S. S. SHUSHTER, 2,664 tons, on or about 22nd Dec. 1916.

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Bankers to the Government in British East Africa and Uganda.

Esplanade Road, BOMBAY.

Subscribed Capital £2,000,000
Paid-up Capital £1,000,000
Reserve Fund £1,200,000

Head Office:
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Branches:

Calcutta	Chittagong	Mombassa
Bombay	Rangoon	Nairobi
Madras	Mandalay	Nakuru
Karachi	Colombo	Kisuma
Lahore	Kandy	Jinja
Amritsar	Newera-Elliya	Kampala
Delhi	Aden (Camp)	Entebbe
Cawnpore	Aden (Steamer Point)	Tanga, East Africa.
Tuticorin	Zanzibar	Daressalam, East Africa.
Cochin		

Agents in New York and South America:—The Anglo-South American Bank, Ltd.

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Mouritius Commercial Bank.

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The Bank receives Fixed Deposits for One year and shorter periods at rates of interest to be ascertained on application.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for Approved Customers and interest is allowed at 2 per cent per annum from Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 but no interest is allowed when the sum accrued does not amount to Rs. 5 half-yearly.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE

are granted on the Head Office and Branches, in India, China, Africa and Australia, purchased or collected.

DRAFTS

are granted on the Head Office and Branches of the Bank and on the Principal Cities of Europe, Africa, America and Australia. Remittances may be by telegrams.

The Bank undertakes the purchase and sale of Government Securities. Stocks and Shares and receives same for safe custody realising Interest nd Dividend when due.

Loans and Cash Credits granted on approved securities.

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Manager.

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Established 1889.

Subscribed Capital ..... Yen 48,000,000
Paid-up Capital ..... Yen 30,000,000
Reserve Fund ..... Yen 26,800,000

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Antung Hsein	Calcutta	Ryojun (Port Arthur)
Changchun	London	San Francisco
Darien (Dalne)	Lyons	Shanghai
Hankow	Fengtien	Sydney
Harbin	(Mukden)	(Australia)
Hongkong	Nagasaki	Tiehling
Honolulu	Newchwang	Tientsin
Kobe	New York	Tokyo
(Cal. U.S.A.)	Osaka	Tsingtau
Los Angles	Pekin	Tsinanfu
Liaoyang	Singapore	

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for one year and shorter periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

Every description of BANKING and EXCHANGE business transacted.

N. IGARASHI,
Manager

Post Box No. 207.
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

THE EASTERN BANK, LTD.

(Incorporated in England.)

(Bankers to the Government in Busra.)

HEAD OFFICE 4, Crosby Square, London E. C.

Branches at Bombay, Calcutta, Bagdad an Basra, Amara.

Authorised Capital £1,500,000
Called-up Capital £600,000
Reserve Liability of Shareholders ... £900,000
Reserve Fund £55,000

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G. Bromley-Martin, Esq., (of Martin's Bank Ltd.)

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Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit, Bart.
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BOMBAY OFFICE.

Corner of Hornby Road and Church Gate Street.

INTEREST ALLOWED ON DEPOSITS FIXED FOR ONE OR TWO YEARS AT THE RATE OF 4½ PER CENT. PER ANNUM.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and FIXED DEPOSITS received for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

INTEREST ALLOWED ON SAVING DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS at 3½ per cent. per annum. Copies of the Rules may be obtained on application.

BILLS of EXCHANGE purchased, loans and credits granted on approved security and every description of Banking and Exchange business undertaken.

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SECURITIES received for Safe Custody and interest and dividends for clients.

D. H. TUCKER,
Manager.

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Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.

Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897.

HEAD OFFICE—BARODA.

Branches:—Ahmedabad, Navsari, Mehsana and Surat.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 20,00,000
Capital Paid-up ..... Rs. 10,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... Rs. 4,50,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 3 per year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Amounts for 12 months are received at 4½ per cent. and for other periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH-CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all description of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 3½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

C. E. RANDLE,
Manager.

THE PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK, LIMITED.

ESTABLISHED 15TH MAY, 1895.

Capital Authorized ..... Rs. 50,00,000
Capital Issued ..... Rs. 31,00,000
Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 31,00,000
Capital Paid-up ..... Rs. 16,21,206
Reserve Funds ..... Rs. 11,38,658

HEAD OFFICE—LAHORE.

Branches.

Amritsar, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi, D. I. Khan, Ferozepore, Gujranwalla, Jullundhur, Karachi, Kasur, Lahore City, Lyallpur, Ludhiana, Multan City, Peshawar City, Amballa City, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Sialkot, Patiala, Jamoo, Srinagar and Jhelum City.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS. Sums as low as Rs. 5 received and interest allowed at 3½ per cent. per annum.

LOANS OVERDRAFTS and CASH CREDITS. The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

CHEQUES, HUNDIS, BILLS, etc., of outstations are bought, collected, and discounted.

For other particulars and rules of business apply to:—

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Offers world-wide policies on most liberal terms.

Security unquestioned.

Energetic Agents wanted:—To represent the Company throughout the Deccan.

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B. RAMCHANDRA & Co.,
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781

THE INDUSTRIAL & PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

(HEAD OFFICE: BOMBAY).

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Attractive Schemes at Low Rates.

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THE EVER POPULAR

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Free Cinema and Musical Entertainment

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Visitors to Deolali are cordially invited.

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Is now conducted under the new management of Mr. M. C. LOBO, (the late manager of Pinto's Hotel), who has had experience of this business for over 30 years.

It occupies best situation, and affords all comforts, with good cuisine.

Blocks also reserved for European visitors.

TERMS VERY MODERATE.

GIVE YOUR ORDER EARLY FOR

CHRISTMAS CAKES.

A. VIANELLI,
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The ideal accommodation for visitors to Bangalore either for a change or Business. Run on the most up-to-date and modern lines. Well ventilated and luxuriously furnished rooms, food to suit all tastes thoroughly vegetarian. Prepared and served by high class Brahmins. Lit throughout by electricity.

Inclusive terms from Rs. 2 per diem.

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A PALATIAL RESIDENCE of the FIRST RANK. RECOMMENDED BY CONTINENTAL VISITORS, unrivalled for Comforts and excellent Cuisine. Apply to the Proprietor for Short Guide to Jaipur.

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For details apply for a copy of Rules to—

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Secretary & Treasurer.

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JEWELLERS AND DEALERS IN PRECIOUS STONES.

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PARISIAN DAIRY CO., Tamarind Lane, Fort, Bombay, for high class Table Butter, Rich Cream and Milk. 669

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Auctioneers to the Government, G. I. P. Railway, etc.,
No. 53, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.
Telephone No. 1285.
Residence Telephone No. 696.

BONA-FIDE SALE.

AUCTION SALE ON SUNDAY, THE 31ST DECEMBER, AT 2-30 P.M. (S.T.)

AUCTION SALE of Very Rich and Made-to-Order Household Furniture by Well-known makers such as Roberts, Wimbridge, Devji Canji, Breslauer and Benjamin and others, Cottage Piano by D'Almain London, Brass Bed, Hand-Sewing Machine, Josts Fan, Rich Pencil Drawings, Automatic Window Curtains, Baba Garries, English Glassware, Porcelainware and Platedware, etc.

Messrs. MEHTA and Co., are instructed to sell by Public Auction, on SUNDAY, the 31st instant, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.), at No. 5-6 Cuffee Parade, (ntxt to Arab's Bungalow) the very valuable specially selected and made-to-order handsome and substantial household furniture, such as telescopic dining tables for 12 persons, specially ordered dining chairs, artistic mirrored sideboards, substantial whatnots, rich dinner waggons, double meatsafes, silk tapestry lined complete drawing room suites of sofas and chairs, marble topped and wooden topped highly polished centre tables, solid iron framed grand cottage piano by the well-known Messrs. D'Almaine, London, rich writing tables, mirrored artistic cabinets, office chairs, revolving book cases, carved blackwood jardineer stands, rich vases, elegant oil paintings and pencil drawings by well-known artists, Master key roll top office tables, easy low and Curzon chairs, mirrored hat-stands, verandah benches, rich solid teapoys, wall plates, wall brackets, table ornaments, rich carpets, card tables, glass door book cases, automatic window curtains, full size Josts fan, hand-sewing machines, baba garries, selected solid double and single glass and panel door almyrahs, cloth and gown presses, dressing chests of drawers, marble topped dressing and washing tables, iron double and single beds, wooden beds very rich double brass bedstead joondah almyrahs, towel horses, rich glass crockery and platedware, etc., etc., the property of A. Holden, Esq., of Messrs. Bradbury Brady and Coy., including that of newly appointed Assistant Collector of Customs for Rangoon.

Catalogues will be published and the property is on view.

AUCTION SALE of Valuable Unclaimed Goods and Sweepings, etc., at Wadi Bunder Goods Depot, of the G. I. P. Railway.

Under instructions from the G. I. P. Railway Company and in accordance with Sections 55 and 56 of Indian Railway Act IX of 1890, Messrs. MEHTA and Co., Auctioneers, will sell by Public Auction, on FRIDAY, the 29th day of December, at 2-30 p.m. (S. T.), at the Railway Company's Goods-Depot at Wadi Bunder the following, consisting of a quantity of unclaimed goods and sweepings such as bags of cotton seeds, bags of jawari, bags of linseed, bags of wheat, bags of rice, bags of castor seeds, bags of bajree, bags of moha flower, bags of rapeseed bags of gram, bags of barley, bags of harda, bags of masur, bags of vatana bags of salli, bundles of gunny bags, bundles of bidi leaves, bundles of cotton, bundles of coir rope bundles of galvanised wire bundles of angle screw, baskets of charies, bundles of bedding, loose iron pipe, trunk of books, trunk of looking glasses, box of ringworm, box of oilman stores, box of fire works, bundles of steel hoops, bags of earth, empty wooden crates, empty wooden casks, case of slate pencils box of brassware, bundles of teak barks, bundle of cloth pieces, bales of F. P. cotton, bags of sweeping grain, etc., etc.

A deposit of 50 per cent. will be required at the time of sale.

AUCTION SALE OF CHEESE.

On FRIDAY, the 29th instant, at 1 p.m. (S. T.), Messrs. MEHTA and Co. will sell by Public Auction at their Rooms.

24 cases each containing 8 Cheese (balls) of about 10 lbs.

7 cases each containing 4 Cheese (balls) of about 8 lbs.

The cases are on view.

Bombay, 27th December, 1916.

MEHTA, & Co.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 27th December, 1916.

CRAWFORD & CO.

AUCTIONEERS AND COMMISSION AGENTS.
16, Apollo Street, Fort.
Telephone No. 521.

SALE TO-DAY AT 2-30 P.M.

AUCTION SALE of Valuable new designed elegant pieces of household furniture, Ebonized Cottage Piano, Sewing Machine Motor Cycle, Platedware, Glassware, etc., the property of Captain Russell the Cable Censor, Bombay, and that of others.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and Co., will sell by public auction THIS DAY WEDNESDAY, the 27th day of December, 1916, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.), at No. 2 Rahim Mansions at Colaba Causeway, very valuable new designed elegant pieces of household furniture consisting of dining table dining chairs, dinner wagon, meatsafes, dumb-waiters, elegant new designed mirror back sideboards, rich drawing room suites of sofas and chairs in 10 pieces, Chesterfield sofas and chairs, single and double mirror door decent pattern almyrahs, clothes and gown hanging presses wardrobes, dressing chest of drawers, easy and rocking chairs, reclining sofas, lady's easy chairs, marble top centre tables, rich embossed tile top teapoys, rich and artistic corner and side cabinets, dressing and writing tables, English designed palm stands, clothes baskets, solid silver centre piece, antique French Clock hopnless Pathephone with records, microscope in case, sweet-toned iron-framed ebonized cottage piano by J. M. Schweighofer Sohne & Co., who have been awarded gold and silver medals in the Exhibition at Paris, revolving piano stool, brass and iron single and double bedsteads, mirror back hatstands marbit top wash-hand tables, towel horse, ice box, sewing machine, electric lamps, Hink's and Dicmar's, rich oil paintings in frames such as "Here is Daddy," "Love me," "I am alone" China and Majolica vases, table ornaments, rich carpets, rich platedware by well-known makers, glassarwe, crockeryware, cooking utensils, etc.

One 2½ H. P. "Centaur" Motor Cycle Single cylinder, chain driver, can be fitted with battery and magnets.

The property of Captain Russell, the Cable Censor, Bombay, and that of others.

Catalogues are published and the property is on view.

CRAWFORD & Co.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 27th December, 1916.

BUSINESS NOTICES

"WANTED" "TO LET" and "FOR SALE" Advertisements are charged at the following rates WHICH MUST BE PREPAID.
ADVERTISEMENTS not exceeding twenty words Re. 1 per insertion; every additional line (six words) or part of a line 4 annas. Headlines count as two lines.
Advertisers are requested to send remittance with copy of advertisement to avoid delay in publication.
Advertisers are requested to note that the publishers cannot undertake to send Replies to Advertisements unless a sufficient amount is prepaid to cover postage. Replies can always be obtained at the Office on production of the Vouchers given between the hours of 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

SPECIAL CONTRACT RATES
may be had on application to—
THE MANAGING DIRECTOR,
"Bombay Chronicle."

MISCELLANEOUS

THE KALBADEVI SHORTHAND AND TYPEWRITING INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHED 1898. The most successful and therefore the best. Testimonials from Members of Parliament, and other Europeans, etc., etc., Subjects:—"Bookkeeping and Accountancy, Typewriting, Shorthand, and Shorthand Speed Classes. Special arrangements for Ladies. Managing Proprietor, Gopaldas Laldas, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

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FOR SALE—Fords New Ford Seconds Tubes Tyres and Accessories. Repairs Painting overhauling Undertaken.
OMIAR MOTOR WORKS CO.,
Hughes Road, Chowpatti.

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WANTED

WANTED.—A FLAT in Fort for a small family from 1st January. Write to Box No. 100, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle."

WANTED—An experienced and able EDITOR for a Gujrati Daily. Pay liberal. Apply Box No. 444, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6453

WANTED CAPTAIN and CHIEF OFFICER for steamer. Apply sharp stating experience and salary required to Box No. 452, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6477

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WANTED—RECRUITS for the Anglo-Indian Battery. Apply to th RECRUITING AGENT, Anglo-Indian Force 113, Esplanade Road (above Thacker's) Bombay.

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WANTED—A EUROPEAN NURSE to look after house and three children of an Indian nobleman. Apply stating age and references to Box No. 443, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6451

WANTED—AGENTS for the SALE of "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE" in the principal cities of India. For terms communicate with the MANAGING-DIRECTOR, Indian Newspaper Co., Ltd., 8, Medows Street Fort, Bombay.

WANTED—Parents to know that we are specialist in (Conversational and General) English, (St. I to VII) WHOLE-DAY or any hours. Mathematics made easier Violin, Mandolin Tuitions arranged. Pamphlet Free. Call or write: EMPIRE TUITION CLASS, 259-261, Hornby Road, Opp. Cox and Co., Fort.

WANTED—For the British Central Africa Co., Ld. INDIAN SALESMAN knowledge of Manchester goods. Salary £96 first year, £108 second and £120 third.
Free medical attendance, free quarters, three years' agreement, free passage and travelling expenses while on duty.
Apply with copies of testimonials to Box No. 450, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6465

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S. N. SEHAY, B.A.,
D. P. I.,
Himatnagar, B. B. & C. I. Ry. 6435

WANTED—Two different CHIEF AGENTS for C. P. and Berar and Bombay Presidency. Liberal allowance and commission to experienced and energetic men. First class references absolutely necessary. Please apply to—
P. BANERJEA,
Secretary, National Insurance Co., Ltd.,
8, Council House Street,
5424 Calcutta.

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1. *Beginners*: Mondays, Thursdays, 9-10 a.m.
2. *Advanced*: Tuesdays, Fridays, 9-10 a.m.
Fee: Rs. 8 per month, payable in advance.
Apply to PROF. LOUIS PELTIER, Thoburn House, Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

FOR SALE

FOR SALE.—A CANOE SHAPED ENGLISH VICTORIA in very good condition strong and reliable. Rs. 950 open to reasonable offer. Apply:—
6467 WELLINGTON MEWS.

FOR SALE—Large quantity of SLACK and DUST COAL at cheap rate. Splendid opportunity to bona-fide consumers, as prices are expected to rise still. Apply Box No. 445, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6454

FOR SALE—MILL MACHINERY ENGINE, BOILER, LOOMS, &c., brand new and some second hand also. Apply to STATE ENGINEER, MORVI. 6349

FOR SALE—One WESTINGHOUSE D. C. shunt wound 15 B.H.P., 460 volts, 950/1100 R. P. M. complete with shunt regulator and pulley. Apply to Box No. 15, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 1085

TO BE LET

ROOM TO LET—With bath-room and W.C. attached with European family near Byculla Club. Apply Box No. 440, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle." 6443

TO BE LET—For the cold season upti March OLYMPIA HOUSE MATHERAN. Apply Mrs. KARAKA, Marine Lines. 6376

PUBLIC NOTICES

THE NEW POONA COLLEGE, POONA.

ALL classes will meet in the city from WEDNESDAY, 3rd January, 1917, Attendance from that date will be compulsory.
V. G. APTE, B.A.,
Principal.
Poona, 22nd December, 1916. 6470

BANK OF BOMBAY.

THE BANK will be closed on MONDAY, the 1st proximo, that day being a Public Holiday (New Year) under the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881.
R. AITKEN,
Secretary and Treasurer.
Bombay, 23rd December, 1916. 6471

NOTICE.

TENDERS are invited for the cost of color-washing and painting the Kohinoor Mills at Naigaum Road, Dadar, Apply to:—
KILLICK NIXON & Co.,
Bombay,
6469 Agents.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

ADVERTISERS are requested to note that the management cannot guarantee to insert advertisements in the "Bombay Chronicle" unless the copies reach this office before 6-0 p.m., (S.T.)
MANAGING DIRECTOR.
"Bombay Chronicle."
Bombay, 30th August, 1916.

NOTICE.

JEENA & Co. are prepared to clear and ship goods on quite reasonable terms including or excluding landing, warehousing, rent, insurance, duty, cartage and for delivery at the railway station or any part of Bombay.
All charges must be paid before delivery.
Special terms can be arranged with mercantile firms or others who may wish us to conduct their sole clearing and forwarding work.
JEENA & Co.,
34, Churchgate Street,
820 Fort, Bombay.

LEGAL NOTICES

NOTICE.

NOTICE is hereby given that Mr. JEHANGIR FRAMJI BATLIBOI, of Bombay, Parsi Inhabitant, has contracted to sell the undermentioned property to our client. Any person having any claim in or to the said property or any part thereof, by way of sale, exchange, mortgage, gift, trust, inheritance, possession, lease, lien, easement or otherwise is hereby required to make the same known in writing to us at our office No. 14 K, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay, and to the Assessor of Municipal Rates and Taxes within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without any regard to any such claim and the same will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground (partly of the Quit and Ground Rent Tenure and partly of the perpetual Fazandari Tenure) together with the messuages, tenements or dwelling houses standing thereon, situate lying and being at Kavasji Patel Street, and Barbar Street, within the Fort of Bombay, in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 397 square yards and 4/9th of a sqpare yard or thereabouts whereof 178 square yards are of the Quit and Ground Rent Tenure which are registered in the Books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old Nos. 264 and 256, New Nos. 5152 and 5136, Old Survey Nos. 383 and 474 and New Survey Nos. 8981 and 8988 and the remainder whereof is of the perpetual Fazandari Tenure the present Fazandar whereof is Shrinath Nanabhoy and the whole of which said piece of land is bounded as follows:—That is to say, on or towards the East partly by Kavasji Patel Street and partly by the property of Dhunjibhoy Kikabhoy Gandevia, on or towards the West partly by the property of Kavasji Jamsetji Modi and partly by the property of Bai Awabai, widow of Shapurji Framji Mehta, on or towards the North partly by the property of Nanabhoy Nusserwanji Sawyer and partly by the property of Bai Dinbai, wife of Fakirji Dhunjibhoy Gagrat and on or towards the South partly by the property of Jamasji Dossabhoy Paghdiwala, partly by the said property of Dhunjibhoy Kikabhoy Gundevia, partly by the Barber Street and partly by the said property of Bai Awabai, widow of Shapurji Framji Mehta, and which said premises are assessed by the Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes as to a part under A Ward No. 1569and Street Nos. 90 and 92, Kavasji Patel Street, and as to the remainder under A Ward No. 1716 (H) and Street No. 12, Barber Street and were formerly and are now in the occupation of the tenants of the Vendor.
Dated this 21st day of December, 1916.
MERWANJI KOLA & Co.,
6426 Purchaser's Attorneys.

LEGAL NOTICES

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.

ORDINARY ORIGINAL CIVIL JURISDICTION SUIT NO. 590 OF 1915.

Bai NANDAGAVRI, widow of HIRALAL D. SARAIYA ..... Plaintiff.
vs.
SHER SAJAN MAHOMED BHIMJI ..... Defendant.

PURSUANT to the Decree made in the above Suit and bearing date the 15th day of June, 1916, the following moveable property will be sold by public Auction by the Commissioner of this Hon. Court at his Office in the Court House on MONDAY, the 8th day of January, 1917, at the hour of five o'clock in the afternoon (Standard Time).

PARTICULARS.

All the right title and interest of the Plaintiff and the Defendant in the estate and effects of the Defendant's father Bhimji Sajan now in the hands of his executors Jan Mahomed Rahimtulla, Karmali Bhimji and Sheriff Bhimji, consisting of 3½ per cent. Government of India Promissory Loan Notes of the face value of Rs. 38,000.
For further particulars and conditions of Sale, application should be made at the office of the said Commissioner or at the office of Messrs. Muljee and Thakoredas, Attorneys for the Plaintiff abovenamed at No. 7 Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.
Dated this 30th day of November, 1916.
H. H. WADIA,
Commissioner.
6472

IN THE COURT OF SMALL CAUSES, KARACHI.

SUIT NO. 994 OF 1916.

ABDUL HUSSAIN ESMAILJI, Merchant, residing at Karachi ... Plaintiff.
vs.
HAJI ABDUL GAFOR HAJI ALI AKBAR ALI RAZA, Merchant, residing in Sitaram Buildings Crawford Market, Bombay ..... Defendant.

To,
The Defendant above named.

WHEREAS the above suit has been filed against you for the recovery of Rs. 533-10-3 and whereas the Court is satisfied that your whereabouts are not known and cannot be ascertained and that you are trying to evade the service of summons upon you.
Take notice that the above suit is fixed for 31st January, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon when you are required to appear before this Court either in person, by a pleader or by a duly authorized agent with all your evidence to answer the said suit and that in default of your appearance the case will be heard and determined *ex parte*.
Given under the Seal of the Court this 23rd day of December, 1916.
By the Court,
Seal.
REGISTRAR,
6468

SALE BY AUCTION

BENNETT & CO.
NO. 22, APOLLO STREET, FORT.

On SATURDAY, the 30th instant at 3-30 p.m., (S.T.), Messrs. BENNETT & CO., will sell by public auction at their Rooms, quantity of grey and coloured piece-goods, etc.
AT 2 P.M. (S.T.).
1 second hand rubber tyred pallanquin office shigram in good order.
1 second-hand rubber tyred victoria, in good order.
1 glass fronted miniature office brougham, in good order.
1 grey horse, quiet in harness.
BENNETT & CO.
Bombay, 27th December, 1916.

MENESSE & CO.
No. 35, HUMMUM STREET, FORT.

AUCTION SALE OF 100 F. P. BALES BENGAL COTTON.
Messrs. MENESSE and Co., will sell by Public Auction, on THURSDAY, the 28th December, 1916, at 4 p.m. (S.T.) at the G. I. P. Railway Company's Goods Yard, Colaba, by order of the Insurance Office concerned the following bales of cotton slightly damaged by fire and water:—
100 F. P. bales Bengal cotton (Hurdwarganj to Colaba. Invoice No. 31 R. R. 30028 dated 1st December, 1916.)
A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required on the lots being knocked down.
MENESSE & CO.,
Auctioneers
Bombay, 27th December, 1916.

TRIKAL DARSI AINA.

Read this advertisement and send an order at once if you wish to "know Present Past and Future." This is the only means to know three times. We have received hundreds of certificates for its wonder. Children, women and men having faith can foresee their thoughts and their results. You easily get the news from your friends and relations from distant and foreign countries. Whether a particular thing will happen, what will be the consequences of a particular thing; events of Warfare, Profit and Loss in trade, increase and decrease of rates of articles, results of examination, service and such questions are at once satisfied by our "Aina."

WITH POSTAGE AND PACKING.
Big Crystal Aina ... ... Rs. 6—0—0
Crystal Aina ... ... ,, 3—9—6
ASHABHAI YAGJIBHAI PATEL,
Post Karamsad,
Via Anand District Kaira.

AMUSEMENTS

EMPIRE THEATRE
THE PICTURE HOUSE PAR EXCELLENCE
3 Performances.
4-30; 6-30 & 10 p.m.
X'MAS ATTRACTIONS!
Another Fine Pathe Drama
"PAPA HULIN"
featuring some beautiful child-acting and the famous actor
HENRY KRAUS
If you saw his great performance in "FLANDERS MY COUNTRY" you will love him in a modern Play as
"PAPA HULIN"
A delightful Comedy for old and young
"THE LITTLE" LEAD SOLDIER.
Specially selected for X'mas
A delicious American Satire on "Sending Notes"
"NUTTY NEWS"
A roar from Start to Finish.
Another great Laugh
"BABYLAS INHERITS" "A PANTHER"
Another comedy for the kiddies which grown up kids will also enjoy.
A TOPICAL NOVELTY!
An Epic of the Sky.
"THE STRAFFER STRAFFED"
Prices, Rs. 2 to 4 Annas.

EXCELSIOR THEATRE
To-night, To-morrow & Fri. 29th
MAURICE E. BANDMAN
Presents the world famous British Comedienne
MISS
ADA REEVE
ADA REEVE
ADA REEVE
in the brilliant Lancashire Comedy
"HOBSON'S CHOICE"
"HOBSON'S CHOICE"
"HOBSON'S CHOICE"
Now crowding the Apollo Theatre, London.
Prices Rs. 6 to 1.
Plan at ROSE & Co.
During Miss Ada Reeve's season there will be no Cinema Performances.

NEW ALEXANDRA
NEAR CRAWFORD MARKET
Tel. 1882.
TO-NIGHT. TO-NIGHT
A Clarendon Master Piece
A PRINCESS OF BLOOD
A Spectacular Four Act Photo-Play, of the Thrilling Story of a Princess's Love Romance, Royal Plots, and the Court Intrigues.
with
CHARLES CHAPLIN
the Prince of Comedians
in a new two reel comic convulsion.
Thrice Nightly: 7, 8-45, 10-30.
USUAL HALF RATES. Re. 1 to As. 2.
COMMENCING SATURDAY NEXT
Our Super Circus Serial
"PEG O' THE RING"

KARANI'S
UNIQUE COLLECTION OF
NEW YEAR CARDS
INDIAN VIEW CARDS
from 4 annas.
AUTO-STATIONERY
60 varieties from two to six annas.
PATRIOTIC CARDS
from 4 annas.
HAND PAINTED, CELLULOID & OTHER CHOICE VARIETIES.
BEST COLLECTION AT POPULAR PRICES.
J. B. KARANI'S SONS.
BOOKSELLERS,
Parsi Bazar, Fort, Bombay.

AMUSEMENTS

TO-NIGHT'S THE NIGHT
TO SEE
THE MOST WONDERFUL FILM
EVER MADE:
"THE MIRACLE OF LIFE"
Shown to the Viceroy and at our own special war performance.
FOR ONE WEEK ONLY
AT THE
WEST END CINEMA
6-45—8-30—10.
Book your Seat early to avoid disappointment.

A GRIPPING ENTERTAINMENT
for those who prefer
Moving Pictures as a means of Theatrical Enjoyment.
WELL, WHAT SAY YOU TO THIS?
Can early environment, that makes Lawlessness the only Instinct of Youth, be overcome by pleasanter conditions, Good Treatment and Uplifting and Impress?
A RAGING QUESTION DISCUSSED IN ALL REFORM MOVEMENTS
solved by
The Marvellous five Reel 'Blue-Bird' Photoplay
"THE GREAT PROBLEM."
A story of Gripping Interest with.
A Happy Ending through a Series of Fascinating Incidents.
Exclusivelyly for
THE NEW **ALHAMBRA CINEMA**
NEW SANDHURST ROAD.
3 SHOWS NIGHTLY COMMENCING 7—8-45 AND 10-30.
EXTRA MATINEE SHOWS ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY AT 5 P.M.
PRICES OF ADMISSION: Re. 1 As. 8, 4 & 2.
Coming! NEXT WEEK *Coming!*
COMMENCING SATURDAY DECEMBER, 30th.
THE TRANS-ATLANTIC UNIVERSAL CO.'S Latest Production.
"THE PEG O' THE RING."
A Serial Sensational featuring.
The Most Prominent and Popular Characters,
Miss GRACE CUNARD and FRANCIS FORD.

ROYAL OPERA HOUSE
QUEEN OF BOMBAY,
FAVOURITE RESORT OF THE ELITE OF BOMBAY.
EVERY EVENING AT 6-45 & 10.
A SEASONABLE AND POPULAR PROGRAMME.
THE CHRISTMAS FILM
"A MODERN CINDERELLA."
A poor shop girl reads the story of Cinderella and realistic events occur in her own life on the lines of the Cinderella. A slipper placed by a theatrical company fits her foot and she rises to the high position of a leading actress. The Charming Star MILL ELLA HALL, plays the part of Cinderella.
"THE TERRIBLE TURK."
A man disguises himself as a Turkish ruby dealer in order to help a friend and goes to the latter's would-be father-in-law's house to sell a ruby. A real Turk comes along and very funny situations ensue.
"WANTED A HUSBAND."
Uncle decides to see his niece's husband. As that young man is out of town she substitutes another man to meet her uncle. The real husband turns up and there are naturally some comic scenes of doubt before everything is cleared.
The latest
PATHE GAZETTE.
SPECIAL HOLIDAY MUSIC BY THE EUROPEAN ORCHESTRA.
Prices: Re. 1/8, Re. 1, Ans. 8 & 4, Box seats, Rs. 2.
IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT TAXI CABS AND VICTORIAS ARE ALWAYS AVAILABLE AT THE DOORS OF THE ROYAL OPERA HOUSE AT THE CLOSE OF EVERY PERFORMANCE. IF THE PATRONS DESIRE THE STAFF WILL SECURE VEHICLES FOR THEM. IT IS INADVISABLE TO LEAVE THE PRECINCTS OF THE HOUSE IN THE EXPECTATION OF GETTING CHANCE CONVEYANCE.

WHEEST!
NOT A WORD
IT'S
A SECRET
THOUGH WE
ARE TELLING
YOU
YOU MUST
TELL NO
ONE ELSE
THAT THE
GREAT SERIAL
PEG O' THE RING
WILL BE SHOWN
FROM SATURDAY NEXT
AT
NEW ALEXANDRA
Near Crawford Market

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CINEMA.
LITTLE AWAY FROM OLYMPIA (East Side)
SANDHURST ROAD,
HEART OF A TIGRESS.
4,500 feet.
TIME AND PRICES AS USUAL.

NEW YEAR'S DANCE
G. I. P. MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, Byculla.
Monday, 1st January, 1917, at 9-30 p.m. (S. T.)
Members Free with 3 friends,
Non-Members Rs. 2.
F. V. GILLETT,
Hon, Secretary.

AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.
JUNAGADH.
1st: 2nd: 3rd & 4th February 1917.
Drawing 5th February 1917.
MONSTER LUCKY-BAG.
30,000 Tickets at Rupee One each.
57 Large and 2,500 Consolation Prizes.

			Rs.
1st Prize		Motor Car	4000
2nd Prize		Victoria...(C. Spring),	1,000
3rd Prize		Horse	400
4 to 8	5	Harmonium, each of Rs. 100	500
9 to 13	5	Free wheel Bicycles at Rs. 100	500
14 to 23	10	Gold Bangles and other real Gold Jewellery...	300
24 to 28	5	Gold Watches at Rs. 100	500
29 to 49		Silver Coffee Sets & other big Silver items not less than Rs. 20.....	600
50 to 54	5	Office Clocks at Rs. 25.	125
55		One Fire Proof Iron Safe.	75
56 & 57		Two Silver Photo frames at Rs. 25	50
2,500		Consolation Prizes	3,500
2,557			11,550

APPLY EARLY FOR TICKETS TO
K. P. ACHARYA,
SECRETARY,
LUCKY-BAG COMMITTEE, JUNAGADH.
(Sd.) JAMES SCOTT,
Chairman.
Lucky-Bag Committee, Junagadh.

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COMMERCIAL.

CABLE QUOTATIONS.

COTTON.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

REPETITION.

New York, Dec. 21st.

mports 62,000

CLOSING EGYPTIAN FUTURE PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 21st.

Months.	To-day's price
March	19.00
May	19.00
July	19.00

AMERICAN MARKETS.

Liverpool, Dec. 23rd.

Day's Receipts at all U. S. Ports	25,000
Futures at New York March	16.95+57
,, ,, May	17.23+69
Spot Cotton at New York	16.75+55
,, ,, New Orleans	17.35+10
Futures at New Orleans March	16.53+57
,, ,, May	16.73+58

BOMBAY MARKETS.

THE BOMBAY COTTON EXCHANGE CO., LTD.

Market Quotation for Ready and Forward Delivery Contracts as fixed by the Rate Committee of the Exchange.

COLABA, 26th December, 1916, 5-30 p.m.

Growths.	Super-fine.	Fine.	Fully Good.	Good.	Delivery.
Bengals (H.G.)	304	289	276	..	Ready
Bengals (M.G.)	..	299	288	..	1/29th Jan. 17
Scinde-Punjab (M.G.)	304	287	274	..	Ready
	..	296	283	..	1/25th Jan. 17
Khandesh (M.G.)	..	347	327	..	Ready
	..	372	357	..	1/25th Jan. 17
Jalna (M.G.) G.S.	..	..	..	..	
Barsee (M.G.) G.S.	..	..	..	..	
Oomra M.G. (Fair Staple)	..	..	..	..	
	..	..	..	..	
Akola Khamg.	..	353	338	..	Ready
Karanja (M.G.)	..	384	369	..	1/25th Jan. 17
	..	..	..	..	
Oomrawatee descriptions (M.G.)	..	355	340	..	Ready
	..	380	370	..	1/29th Jan. 17
Dhamangaum	..	364	347	..	Ready
Poolgaum (M.G.)	..	389	374	..	1/29th Jan 17
Yeotmal (M.G.)	..	369	354	..	Ready
	..	393	378	..	1/29th Jan. 17
Nagpore	..	379	364	..	Ready
Rampti (M.G.)	..	399	384	..	1/25th Jan. 17
Wardha H'ghat (M.G.)	..	379	364	..	Ready
	..	400	385	..	1/25th Jan. 17
Broach (M.G.)	..	404	..	..	1/25th Mar. 17
	..	..	..	392	1/26th Ap.1917
Surat (M.G.)	..	..	..	..	
Mathia (M.G.)	..	347	332	..	Ready &
	..	365	350	..	1/26thJan.1917
Bhagalkote-Bijapur (M.G.)	..	..	..	..	
	..	..	..	..	
Sawgd. Dharwar	..	..	..	406	April-May 1917
	..	..	..	..	
Westerns (M.G.)	..	..	..	402	May.-June 1917
Westerns (H.G.)	..	..	..	392	May.-June 1917
Compta. (M.G.)	..	..	..	410	April-May 1917
	..	..	..	..	
	..	..	..	414	April-May 1917
Miraj (M.G.)	..	..	..	..	
	..	..	..	..	

WHEAT AND SEEDS.

Bombay, Dec. 26th—4 p.m.

The following are to-day's closing rates as issued by the Marwari Chamber of Commerce.

	Bazaar Terms.	Ball Delivery
Ready.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat, White Delhi 70-30	43 0 0	6 14 0
,, White Cawnpore 70-30	43 0 0	6 14 0
,, Karachi Bangla	43 0 0	6 14 0
Rapeseed, Brown Delhi	6 6 0	6 12 0
,, Brown Cawnpore	6 5 0	6 11 0
,, Yellow Cawnpore	6 12 0	7 2 0
Linseed, Brown Bold	9 11 0	10 2 0
,, Brown Thin	9 6 0	9 12 0
Teelseed, White 85-15	48 0 0	9 12 0
,, Gajar 75-25	46 0 0	9 0 0
,, Black	39 0 0	8 0 0
,, Gajar 50-50	44 0 0	9 0 0
Poppyseed, White	7 0 0	7 8 0
Groundnuts	42 0 0	—.—
Mowraseed	4 0 0	4 4 0
Jowa	33 0 0	4 12 0
Arandia	39 0 0	—.—
Forward.	Rs. a. p.	
Wheat April-May	6 7 3	
Linseed May	11 4 3	
Teelseed White 85-15 Dec./Jan.	9 12 0	
,, Gajar 75-25 Dec./Jan.	9 6 0	
,, Gajar 50-50 Dec./Jan.	9 0 0	
,, Black Dec./Jan.	8 0 0	

DIABETES

Radical and Sure Cure.

To
Messrs. K. P. ROY & J. P. ROY BROS.,
Benares City.

Dear Sirs,

I have been taking your diabetic specific for about 3 weeks and derived much benefit. I have recommended your medicine for my patient B. Rakhal Das De Choudhry for his diabetic complaints, who has been suffering for nearly six months.

Will you please send your specific to the following address for one month's use per V.P.P.

Don't delay to send it.

Your most obediently,
BENODE BEHAREE CHATTERJEE,
L.M. & S.

Address for sending the medicine:—
B. RAKHAL DAS DE CHOUDHRY,
Village Mirhah,
P. O. Baidyapur,
Dt. Burdwan.

Correspondents are requested to quote this paper..

Celebrated Panacea & Co's "French Pills" OR
THE SEED OF VITALITY.
Thrilling wave of Perpetual Youth by its use. A powerful and effective Nervine Tonic for lost Vigour and Vitality.
LITERATURE FREE.
Sole Agents:—
The All-India M. G. Bureau,
47, Lr. Circular Rd.,
CALCUTTA
Price Rs. 1-4.

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

TO-DAY.

Parsi: 18th of Tir, 1286.
Hindu: 3rd of Posh Sud, 1973.
Mahomedan: 1st of Rubee-at-Awal, 1335.
Sunrise: 7h. 10m. Sunset: 6h. 10m.
Phases of the Moon: First Quarter Dec. 31st.

LOCAL ENGAGEMENTS.

Excelsior Theatre: Miss Ada Reeve and her Co., in "Hobson's Choice," at 9-30.
MONDAY, Jan. 1.
New Year's Dance G. I. P. Byculla Mechanic's Institute at 9-30 p.m., (S.T.).
The English Mail will be closed at the General Post Office at 3 p.m. Registered letters and parcels will be accepted only up to 6-30 p.m. on Saturday, Dec. 30.

DAILY.

Excelsior Theatre: Miss Ada Reeve and her Co., at 9-30 p.m.
Empire Cinema: 4-30, 6-30 and 10 p.m.
Royal Opera House, 6-45 and 10 p.m.
Palace of Varieties: at 6-30 and 10 p.m. every Wednesday, Saturday and Monday, 10 p.m., Show every Sunday at 6-30 at Edwardes.
New Alexandra Cinema, Lohar Chawl, Princess Street.
Olympia Cinema, Sandhurst Road.
West End Cinema, Charni Road: 6-45, 8-30 and 10.
New Alhambra Cinema, Sandhurst Road, 7, 8-45 and 10-30.

BAND AT THE BOMBAY GYMKHANA.

By kind permission of Col. T. W. Bonner, V.D., and Officers, the Band of the 1st Battn., G. I. P. Ry. Volunteers, will play this evening a programme of music, under the direction of Mr. Hugh B. Mitchell, Band Master, commencing at 6 o'clock.

ENGLISH MAIL.

The English Mail will be closed at the General Post Office at 3 p.m., on Monday the 1st proximo. Registered letters and parcels will be accepted only up to 6-30 p.m. on Saturday the 30th instant, as Monday is a Post Office holiday. Postings at the Town Sub Offices must be regulated so as to reach the General Post Office before the aboe mentioned hours.

BAND AT THE LADY HARDINGE WAR HOSPITAL

By kind permission of Colonel T. W. Bonner, V.D., and officers, the Band of the 1st Battn., G. I. P. Ry. Volunteers, will play this evening a programme of music, under the direction of Mr. Hugh B. Mitchell, Band Master, commencing at 5 o'clock.

MOTALITY IN BOMBAY.

Only a single death from plague occurred in Bombay on Monday. There was no cases of either small-pox or cholera. The total mortality from all causes was 71, as compared with 77 of the corresponding day of 1915 and 78 of 1914.

EXCELSIOR THEATRE.

MISS ADA REEVE.

Full houses are greeting the great British Comedienne at the Excelsior, where apart from her magnificent acting in Barrie's tabloid drama "Half an Hour", she has to sing no less than six or seven songs before leaving the stage. To-night that brilliant Lancashire Comedy "Hobson's Choice" which is now the hit of the West-End and crowding the Apollo Theatre, will be given. Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon attended last night performance.

ROYAL OPERA HOUSE.

The second year of the career of the Royal Opera House has opened with great success, and all this week a splended Christmas programme is being shown.

The holiday opened on Saturday afternoon with an "at home" to celebrate the first anniversary since the permanent opening. A special programme of pictures was first submitted and then the guests were entertained to afternoon tea in the garden. A very large number of invitations had been issued and the result was a splendid crowd, who were entertained royally.

That night the Christmas bill was presented at the usual times. The star picture is called "A Modern Cinderella," with the popular little actress Ella Hall in the name-part. Both story and acting are charming. For the rest, apart from the usual Pathe Gazette the programme is a comic one, and altogether well worth seeing.

WEST END CINEMA.

The Christmas programme at the West End Cinema has proved very popular during the week-end and large audiences are promised for the remainder of the week. The principal film is called "The Miracle of Life" and is not only a very clever and entertaining picture but it has a lesson to teach. Al can learn something from it, for the story is adequately described in the title. A good orchestra and very comfortable accommodation add a great deal to the enjoyment of this remarkable film.

'SUPER-SERIAL" AT NEW ALEXANDRA

"Peg O' The Ring," the thrilling circus serial, makes her first bow to an expectant public at the New Alexandra this evening. Pretty Peg (Lucille Love, alias Grace Cunard) is going to capture all hearts; the very quintessence of womanly grace and charm, she is bound to captivate the fancy of the kinema-going public, and her adventures, we predict, will soon be the craze. The Universal have surpassed themselves with this pioneer circus production. It is the very first serial photoplay woven round the circus ring; the first pictorial history of a life with a lure and charm all its own. Most of us can recall, as perhaps our very earliest recollection of pleasure, the special treat of a visit to the circus. It fascinated us then, seen through the eye of inexperience; with added knowledge it fascinates us still. Scenes of circus life have of course been seen often enough on the screen, but in "Peg O' The Ring" so realistic and natural is the atmosphere, one gets carried away and forgets it is only a picture. But therein lies the secret of why the atmosphere is so convincing. The whole story is a picturization of "the real thing." In their quest for realism camera men were touring America and obtaining photographs of actual performances and scenes in the daily life of the kings and queens of the ring. All the large circuses were visited and many of the most daring acts and thrilling spectacles enacted in America to-day are faithfully portrayed in this series of pictures taken from real life.

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CALCUTTA RACES.

VICEROY S CUP.

WON BY BACHELOR'S WEDDING.

Specially Reported for the "Chronicle."

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

The attendance was a record to-day, it being so heavy in all stands, enclosures and lawn that one had to elbow one's way. They witnessed very high class sport and exciting races particularly in the principal race of the day, the Viceroy's Cup. Although only seven horses started they represented blue blood and a battle royal ensued. Such a close finish was only witnessed four years ago when Mayfowl and Brogue dead-heated. Mr. R. R. S.'s representatives ran first and second, but the elected of the stable got beaten by the second string who started at 50 to 1. The time is a record for this race. It was by no means favourites but those that won did not run loose.

Details:—

THE GRAND ANNUAL.—Distance 2 Miles over 8 Flights.

Mr. Kelso's SCREAMER, 10-7, Scott 1
Mr. Goculdas' KNIGHT'S KEY' 11-0, Northmore 2
The Zemindar of Nazergunj's CANBERRA, 10-12, Ferguson 3
Also Ran:—Blackmailer 10-7, Dolly Dimple 10-2, Lesto 10-2, Brandichoc 9-5.

Betting:—6 to 4 on Knight's Key, fours Screamer, sixes Blackmailer and Dolly Dimple, twelves the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 77. Places Rs. 22 and Rs. 16.

THE CALCUTTA PLATE.—Distance 6 Furlongs.

Messrs. Goculdas and Garda's SALANDRA, 8-9, Huxley 1
Mr. R. R. S.'s PATRICK, 9-3, Templeman 2
Mr. Pallonji's RADIANT, 9-3, Ruiz 3
Also Ran:—Boss Lee 7-3 (cd. 7-7), Eagle's Nest 8-3, Sein Net 7-1.

Betting:—7 to 4 on Salandra, 7 to 4 Patrick, twelves Radiant and Boss Lee, twenties the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 21. Places Rs. 13 and Rs. 14.

THE PADDOCK PLATE. Division I.—Distance 7 Furlongs.

Mr. Goculdas' GIBBERISH, 8-6, Huxley ... 1
Messrs. Dovetil and Page's GUESS, 8-13, Templeman 2
H. H. General Obaidulla Khan's FINAL PROOF, 8-3, Rowley 3
Also Ran:—Catch 8-0, Watch Tower 9-3, Lady Betty 8-12, Battlehurst 8-8, Warden 8-7, Blue Sapphire 8-5, Betty Birr 8-4.

Betting:—3 to 2 Guess and Gibberish, fives Warden, tens and twenties the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 36. Places Rs. 17, Rs. 14 and Rs. 33.

THE VICEROY'S CUP.—Distance 1¾ Miles.

Mr. R. R. S.'s BACHELOR'S WEDDING, 9-3, Ruiz 1
Mr. R. R. S.'s MAGYAR, Templeman ... 2
Mr. Wadia's FIZYAMA, 8-11, Barrett ... 3
Also Ran:—Bydand 9-0, Kiltoi 9-3, Spenser 9-3, Buskin 8-11.

Betting:—2 to 1 on Kiltoi, threes Magyar, twelves Bydand and Fizyama, twenties to fifties the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 313. Places Rs. 85 and Rs. 20.

THE CURZON PLATE.—Distance 1¼ Miles.

Mr. Bartleet's SANTA BARBARA, 9-2, Lynch 1
Mr. Captain's SUGAR LOAF, 8-8, Ruiz ... 2
Mr. Galstaun's SHINING WAY, 8-7, Wing 3
Also Ran:—Drill Mistress 7-4, Miletus 9-8, Marchog Gwyn 7-10, Yonkers 7-8, Mahoney 7-5, May Boy 7-4, Stage Fright 7-3, Midsand 7-1.

Betting:—Twos Miletus, 7 to 2 Santa Barbara, fives Sugar Loaf and Stage Fright, sixes Midsand, longer prices the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 55. Places Rs. 19, Rs. 23 and Rs. 54.

THE PADDOCK PLATE. Division II.—Distance 7 Furlongs.

Mr. Lauder and Lieut.-Colonel Smith's DON'T BE LATE, 8-5, Pratt 1
Mr. Lauder's STAR OF INDIA, 9-5, H. Stokes 2
Mr. Gahagan's NORTH, 8-3, Lynch ... 3
Also Ran:—Saltikoff 8-9, One 8-13, Bisley 8-13, White Sapphire 8-3, Hit or Miss 8-3, Landore 7-8, Boudicca 7-2.

Betting:—7 to 4 Saltikoff, twos Star of India, fours Don't Be Late, sevens North and Landore, longer prices the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 70. Places Rs. 25, Rs. 16 and Rs. 32.

THE INTERNATIONAL PONY PLATE.—Distance 7 Furlongs.

Mr. Goculdas' GIPSY'S ADVICE, 9-13, Huxley 1
Mrs. Peter's REGAL SALLY, 8-8 (cd. 8-9), Templeman 2
Mr. Butler's NAREB, 9-10, Firth 3
Also Ran:—Sea Lad 9-7.

Betting:—No price Gipsy's Advice (opened 4 to 1 on), sevens Nareb, twelves the rest.

Totes Paid:—Win Rs. 14. Places Rs. 11 and Rs. 18.

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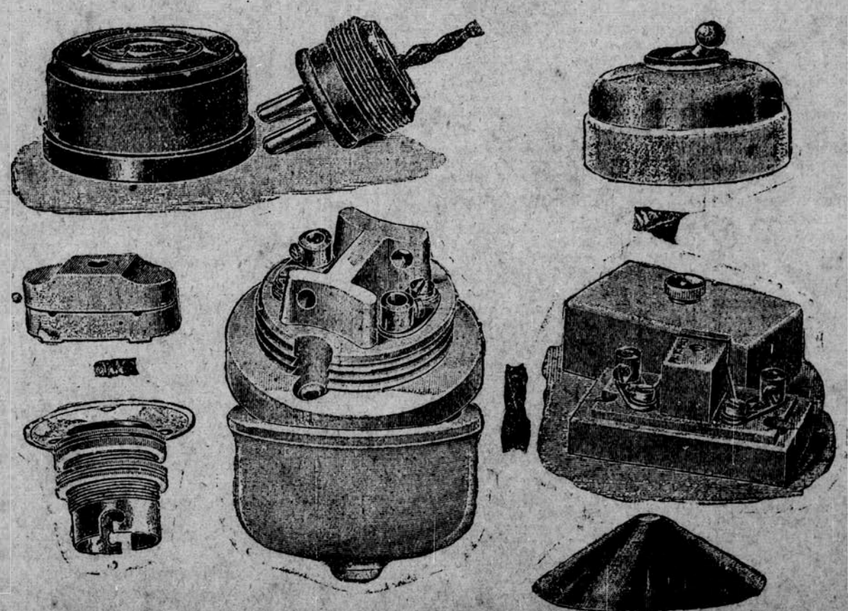

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31st INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

BRILLIANT SURVEY OF INDIAN POLITICAL SITUATION.

WEIGHTY PRONOUNCEMENT ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

INDIA'S POLITICAL DEMANDS SUMMARISED.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 26.

The thirty-first session of the Indian National Congress met here this afternoon at 2, it being the first reunited Congress after the Surat split. The attendance of delegates and visitors, Moderates and Nationalists, was unusually large, and the pandal was overcrowded. The pandal, though not so large as that of Bombay, was lavishly decorated with flags bearing national mottos, such as "Long Live the King," "Victory to British Arms," "United We Stand," "Good Government is no substitute for Self-Government." A large number of Mahomedans, both as delegates and visitors, were present, present, as also several European and Indian ladies.

The whole house received with ovation Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Bepin Pal, Mr. Mozharul Haque, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and other distinguished Indian leaders. Shortly before two, a procession was formed to conduct Mr. Mazumdar, the President-elect, to the dais. It was preceded by half a dozen small boys, then came the President, followed by ex-Presidents Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Bhupendra Nath Bose, Sir Rash Behari Ghose and prominent members of the Reception Committee.

Among the distinguished visitors present on the dias were Mr Burn, Chief Secretary to the Local Government, Mr. Justice Wallach, Mr. Bennett, late of the "Times of India," the Raja of Jahangirabad and Raja Sir Harnam Sing. Along with the President were seated the Raja of Mahmudabad, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. Subba Rao Pantulu, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Sir D. M. Petit, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, the Hon. Mr. Mazul Haque, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Polak.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram" and two other national songs by Indian girls.

Pandit Jagat Narain Chairman of the Reception Committee, then read his speech.

After the Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea on behalf of the Reception Committee moved that this Congress do ratify the election of Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar as President of the 31st Indian National Congress. He said he used the word ratify deliberately because their proceedings were of a formal character. He said that Mr. Mazumdar had been doing useful, solid and splendid work in the silence and obscurity of his native town Faridpur in Eastern Bengal. He had known Mr. Mazumdar for the last 40 years and both were then schoolmasters. They then entered into friendship which culminated into comradeship to fight the battles of India's freedom. Mr. Mazumdar had done splendid work in local self-Government, a stepping stone to self-Government. His independence of character, unflinching labour in the cause of the country and tactfulness made him an illustrious leader of public opinion. They were on the eve of great readjustment and at such time they needed the wisdom, tact, firmness and conciliatoriness of a man like Mr. Mazumdar and he was sure that they would profit by his selection. Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Setalvad and Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer supported the proposition which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Mazumdar then took the Presidential chair and was garlanded.

Mr. Subba Rao Pantulu read letters from Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Mr. Wacha wishing success and a telegram from the British East Indian Association wishing the realisation of Home Rule.

The Presidential speech was read by Mr. J. Chaudhuri.

After the reading of the Presidential address the Congress elected members to the Subjects Committee and adjourned till Thursday. The Subjects Committee meets to-morrow.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, after welcoming the delegates and referring to the loss sustained during the year by the country by the deaths of Messrs. Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare and Ikbal Narayan Masaldan, went on to acknowledge the Reception Committee's obligation to the Local Government for the assistance received from them. "I wish I could have stopped here," proceeded the speaker, "but I cannot help uttering a word of surprise that the Local Government should have deemed it necessary to caution the Congress against intemperate speaking. We had hoped, brother-delegates, that the record of this great institution was a complete guarantee against such a nervous apprehension. At the best the warning was superfluous and it would have been better if it had not been addressed."

The present year, said the Pandit, will be a memorable one in the history of our political evolution. For the first time since the unfortunate split at Surat we witness the spectacle of a united Congress. Realizing that in union alone is strength, both the parties have laid aside their differences and resolved to work shoulder to shoulder to win for India a position compatible with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. They have heard the call of the country and obliterating old divisions, rallied round her in the hour of her need. Equally hopeful and encouraging is the patriotic spirit which inspires our Mahomedan brethren. There was a time, now happily gone for ever, when short-sighted counsels prevailed among them and they gave to their community what was meant for the country. But education and the new spirit have done their work as surely among them as among the other sections of our country-men. They have enlarged their vision and broadened their sympathies. Both the communities share the same aspirations to-day and realize in a larger measure than they ever did before, that united action is essential to the fulfilment of their common destiny.

Coming to the problems immediately facing the country, the Pandit said: Gentlemen, it will be the supreme duty of the Congress to give expression to the hopes and aspirations to which the war has given a fresh vitality. The last decade has witnessed the birth of a new nationalism in India. The efforts of the older generation to awaken the consciousness of the people have produced their inevitable result. A new generation has arisen with new thoughts and new ideas, impatient of its dependent position and claiming its rights as free citizens of the British Empire. The advent of the European war infused as new enthusiasm into the people and galvanised their aspirations into a new life.

Referring to Indian aspirations, the speaker observed:—India now demands that after the war things shall not revert to their original conditions, but that she shall occupy a position worthy of herself as a member of the Imperial family. She is not asking for rewards in return for her loyalty, but having fought in defence of human freedom she expects that her own sons will no longer be denied their birth-right as freemen. It will be strange indeed if England, who is fighting to preserve the sacredness of treaties and the integrity of small nations, should turn a deaf ear to the cry of her own subjects and refuse to redeem her plighted word.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Gentlemen, in my opinion statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a self-governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war, as a step towards that goal. Representative government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity of developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial federation India should occupy the same position as the self-governing dominions. The memorandum submitted to his Excellency the Viceroy by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms, which fall far short of colonial self-government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them, it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.

INDIA'S DUTY.

After referring at length to the examples of Canada, Australia and South Africa which bore convincing testimony to the potency of self-government as an instrument for the advancement of both national and Imperial interests, the Pandit asked, where they have succeeded, why should India fail. Coming to India's own duty in this connection the speaker said:—

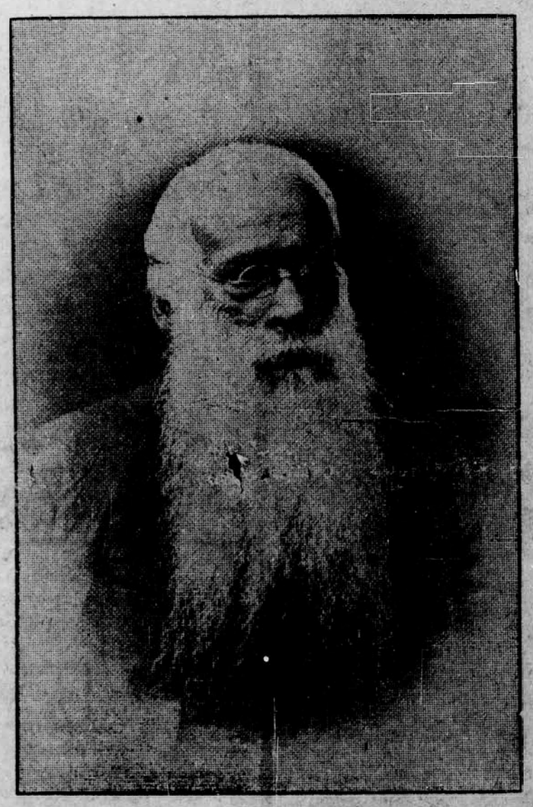
If Indian claims are to have any chance of being seriously considered, we must be able to place our views before the authorities when plans for the reorganization of the Empire are being discussed. This requires that our demands should be formulated in the form of a definite scheme and that sufficient time should be given to the country to discuss it thoroughly. Unless this is done, there is a great danger that we may be told that we do not know our own mind or that our views give expression only to the aspirations of a microscopic minority. Clearly, therefore, we cannot impose silence on ourselves till the conclusion of the war, for it may be too late then to do anything. On the contrary it is our duty to lose no time in educating public opinion and in discussing the vital question of India's position in the Empire after the war, in the press and on the platform. The time has certainly not come when we should press our claims on the attention of Government, but it is not a moment too soon for making up our own minds on the subject. As a matter of fact more than a year has passed since the public discussion of this problem began and it is only now that unanimity has been reached with regard to the changes which must be made in the Indian constitution in order that we may have adequate room for expension and a fair field for the employment of our talents and energies. If Hindus and Mahomedans had neglected to take counsel among themselves beforehand and to make efforts to arrive at a common understanding, they would have found themselves totally unprepared to represent the Indian case properly after the war at the tribunal of the Empire. The task of remodelling the fabric of Empire could not have been postponed till the political lotos-eaters of India had made up their minds, and with the best will in the world Imperial statesmen would have been forced to leave her out of account in determining their future policy.

If Indians do not make their voice heard they cannot expect that their interests will be borne in mind when the Empire is reorganized after the war. But there is even a greater danger ahead, viz., that the interests of India may be subordinated to those of the colonies. British statesmen have pledged themselves to give the dominions a greater share in the direction of Imperial policy. They are to be associated with the mother-country in the control of foreign affairs and to share much more largely with her the burden of the defence of the Empire. India is not so blind to her own interests or so lost to all sense of self-respect as to willingly accept the domination of the colonies which evince an overweening contempt for all Indians and deny their own Indian subjects the right to live like human beings. She will bear a great deal before submitting to such an indignity. If the government of India by the dominions is an inevitable consequence of Imperial Federation, then all attempts at federation are foredoomed to failure.

In conclusion the Pandit observed as follows:—

Ladies and gentlemen, we are living in momentous times. On every side we see the stirrings of a new spirit, a yearning towards light and freedom, and the time is at hand for the realization of the glorious dreams of those who sowed the seed of western knowledge in India. The call of the Motherland is sounding in our ears. The Press Act cannot quell our ardour, nor can the Defence of India Act cool our enthusiasm. They only reinforce the lesson that "where freedom lives not there live no good things." Unjust opposition, instead of daunting us will only stimulate us to greater effort, for to us self-government is not a privilege but a duty. Inspired by a clear-eyed faith in the ultimate victory of our cause, which nothing can shake, and a passionate patriotism which rejoices in service and self-sacrifice, we shall march forward resolutely to the goal that we have set before us of winning for our country its rightful place in the British Commonwealth. I earnestly trust that England will read the signs of the times aright and add a glorious page to her history by helping three hundred millions to cast off the shackles that bind them. "The menace, the real peril," as Mr. Bernard Houghton says, "lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present system, a system which has served its purpose but which India has now overgrown."

HON. MR. AMBICACHARAN MAZUMDAR.



President of the 31st Indian National Congress, Lucknow.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Brother and Sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We meet to-day under a shadow of great calamity. The war is still upon us and deadly work of slaughter and destruction continues unabated but signs of approaching settlement are not wanting. The terms of peace have been formulated by Germany. We trust that in the Peace Conference that must be held, Indian representatives will find a place, and voice of India will be heard in Councils of the Empire. We have given men and money needed for war and it is only just, and proper that we should have a voice in the Conference that will determine peace terms.

It was Lord Curzon who on a memorable occasion said that it was not given to "an Indian corporal to carry the Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack," but here an Indian private, recruited somewhere in the seventies who after a few years' training joined his colours but never rose above the rank of a subaltern, has today after nearly 35 years of active service found that baton thrust into his hand which, however, he neither deserved nor dreamt of in all his life. I use no language of mere convention when I say, that trying and momentous as the present situation is I sincerely wished that at this turning point in the history of the national movement the presidential chair of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress had been offered to a more capable person who might have not only inspired greater confidence, but by his superior tact and judgment safely steered it clear of all shoals and bars that still lie before it and successfully led it into port after a perilous voyage extending over thirty years. I wished it had been permitted to me to stand aside and gratify the wishes of a section of my countrymen with whose ardent hopes and sanguine expectations for the rapid advancement of the country I am in the fullest sympathy. But it ought to be remembered that the chosen spokesman of a great representative assembly like the Congress is merely an accredited agent whose individuality is more or less merged in the body politic and whose freedom of action is largely controlled by that body. Even his voice, as I understand it, is bound not to reflect his personal *ipse dixits*, but echo the reasoned feeling and sentiments of those whom he seeks to represent. In every organised movement the individual counts for nothing and the voice of the majority cannot but be respected under a constitutional fiction as the voice of the whole. In a case like the present, one is often precluded even from giving due consideration to his fitness or unfitness for the great task which is thrust upon him. It was the country's mandate in the country's cause which demanded unquestioning submission. The decision as well as the responsibility rested with the country, the duty resting on me. I am neither so vain, nor so foolish as to imagine for a moment, that the great honour bestowed upon me is intended for a personal distinction. I am under no such delusion. I am fully conscious that it is the democratic spirit of this National Organisation which has in its natural evolution sought to vindicate itself by drawing out an old servant of the cause from his retirement in an obscure corner of the country to fill the presidential chair in the dim twilight of the evening of his life. Gentlemen, if I have not begun by offering you the customary thanks, it is because thanks presuppose some claim to receive a gift, and I frankly confess that I have not sufficient confidence in myself to thank you for the very difficult and delicate position in which you have placed me. However, lest you or anybody else should think that I am "poor even in thanks" I thank you with all the warmth and fervour of a devoted heart for the great honour—the greatest in the gift of the country—which you have conferred on me by calling me to preside over the deliberations of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress at Lucknow, the historic capital of Oudh which played such an important part in the early history of British rule in India—Lucknow, the *Koshala* of the ancients, the city built by Asoof-ud-Dowlah, and adorned by his successors with magnificent mosques, mausoleums and imambaras and crowned with gilded towers, minarets and cupolas—Lucknow, the centre of the great tornado which swept over India in 1857 in which the brave Lawrence and Nicholson fell and where the gallant Havelock sleeps embalmed in the thrilling memories of a Historic siege. Gentlemen, I think I have one indisputable claim to your just and generous consideration: If you have in your choice placed me in this responsible position you are in common fairness bound to extend to me a reasonable amount of support and indulgence so as to enable me to discharge my duties with some measure of success.

TRIBUTE TO THE LEAD.

Ladies and Gentlemen, while most people count their gains, we have to count our losses at the end of every year. How sad it is to contemplate that scarcely a year passes away without leaving us the poorer in the ranks of our public men! How fast are the dear old familiar faces on this Congress platform vanishing into the void! Not to speak of the serious losses which the country sustained in her earlier breavements, only last year we lost three of our tried veterans, the brilliant, the versatile, the indomitable Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, the saintly and devoted Gopal Krishna Gokhale and that silent and steadfast worker who was one of the brave 72 who, inaugurated the Congress at Bombay in 1885—Ganga Prasad Varma. And before this old, rickety globe of ours could complete another revolution, that "fell sergeant strict in his arrest" has snatched away three of our brave comrades whose loyalty to the country was equalled only by their spirit of self-sacrifice, and whose devotion to duty was surpassed only by their extraordinary capacity for work. G. Subramania Iyer, the founder of the *Hindu*, the organiser of the *Mahajan Sabha*, the editor of the *Swadesh-Mitram*, who was the first to lead the plough and turn the first sod on the Congress soil by moving the first resolution of the First Indian National Congress, may well be called the maker of Modern Madras; while Daji Abaji Khare, who was for about eight years loyally and devotedly associated with our esteemed friend and veteran leader, the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha, as a Joint General Secretary to the Congress, was a man of whom any community might be justly proud and whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the country and the Congress. Lastly, it is with feelings of profound grief which has not yet been touched by the healing hand of Time that I must mention the passing of our gifted and distinguished countryman, one of my predecessors in the chair to which you have called me to-day, Pandit Bishan Narain Dar. Brother delegates, as the first citizen of Lucknow and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, his voice should have been the first to be heard in this *pandal* this afternoon in eloquent welcome extended to us all, but it was not to be, and his voice has been hushed in the great silence, and the duty remains with us of offering our respectful tribute to his departed worth. Yet another eminent Indian has recently passed away, who though not *in* the Congress was *with* the Congress all his life. Mr. B. L. Gupta belonged to that distinguished triumvirate who formed the vanguard of the Indian Civil Service in this country and it was he who was the originator, if not the author, of the Ilbert Bill. Two of this triumvirate have passed away, while, thank God, the third who having consecrated his life to the service of the motherland, still retains the command which he has held for the last 30 years. May Surendra Nath Banerjea be long spared to lead us and serve the country. We have had very few friends in England and how fast is their rank thinning away! Sir Henry Cotton who, both in and out of Parliament, was one of the bravest and truest champions of the Indian people and who had cheerfully sacrificed his own interests for those of India, passed away last year amidst the universal lamentations of a grateful people who had most need of such a man at the present juncture; while shortly afterwards the great labour leader, Mr. Keir Hardie, who made India's cause his own and like Hamden with dauntless breast fought for suffering humanity, went to his eternal rest, creating a void in the ranks of our friends which is not likely to be soon filled up. We are however, grateful to kind Providence that the Saint of Versova and the Sage of Meredith are still spared to us to guide us and cheer us with occasional messages of hope and confidence. How the brave and the mighty have fallen and how many more have yet to fall in the weary march through the desert before we can reach even the threshold of the Promised Land. But dead or alive, they cannot be completely lost to us if we can only realise that their mighty spirits are ever hovering over us and in their unerring vision silently guiding us in the onward march, encouraging us in our success and comforting us in the hours of our despair and despondency.

RE-UNITED CONGRESS.

Gentlemen, even the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining, and in this vale of sorrow, there is hardly any misfortune which has not both a positive and a negative side. If the United Congress was buried in the *debris* of the old French Garden at Surat, it is re-born to-day in the Kaiser Bag of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous King Wajed Ali Shah. After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of mis-understandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers and embraced each other with the gush and ardour, peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation. Blessed are the peacemakers. Honour, all honour to those who in this suicidal civil war held the olive branch of peace, and glory to the patriotic good sense of the belligerents on both sides who having realised their true position and resposibility have at a psychological moment so wisely buried their hatchets and closed their ranks. There are occasional differences even in the best regulated families and how much wider must be the scope of difference in the vast political field of a country like ours where the people have so little of the power of initiation in their hands and where the causes of mis-understanding and consequent vexation and disappointment are so numerous and so irritating. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing so much disturbs the equanimity of the public mind and embitters public feelings as failure and in a common cause the failure of one method easily gives a handle to exaggerate the importance of an opposite view, though, if the position were reversed, the result might have been still worse. But if there be honesty of motive and singleness of purpose, the widest divergence of opinion need neither frighten nor irritate any reasonable mind. Action and reaction is the law of nature's evolution. Struggle represents animation as stillness indicates stagnation, and thus even the muddy water of a rushing stream is ever more wholesome than the transparent water of a stagnant pool. In politics healthy opposition indicates the vitality of national life and the disturbances and disruptions that occasionally take place in the life of a nation serve only to clear and purify the atmosphere it breathes and rarify the other it inhales. In the British constitution there are the contending forces which at times seem so menacing but serve in reality only to cement and strengthen it. The real strength of a nation does not lie in mere smooth work, but in solidarity and compactness when the national interests demand them, and in sinking all personal differences as soon as the trumpet-call of duty is sounded to rally round a common cause. It would be most foolish to persist in prejudices in the name of principles and to lose sight of the real issue involved in a case. Nothing is more common in a game than for the players to quarrel over a false move and to take no notice of an impending checkmate. I do not endorse the opinion that a subject race has no politics, but I do maintain that the principles of a subject people must be somewhat elastic to suit the exigencies of their situation, and when a common cause demands unity of action a practical people cannot afford to quarrel over means but must be prepared to make sacrifices on both sides for the common end which must be placed above every other consideration. In the sphere of organised activities for the benefit of a corporate body there is nothing more disastrous than want of mutual respect, trust and confidence among its members. Where the end is the same the diverse means and methods to attain that end should not betray either parties or individuals into a course of action which defeats that end. A principle divorced from practice is apt to degenerate into a morbid sentiment and for all practical purposes even the noblest of sentiments must at times bend itself to the stern necessities of circumstance and be regulated by a spirit of mutual confidence, toleration, forbearance and even sacrifice. The misfortune is that in the heat of a controversy we often lose sight of the end and missing the real issue substitute the means for the end. A shade of difference in opinion, viewed in an atmosphere of prejudice and passion, is often magnified into a wide divergence of principle, and the most trusted of comrades easily find themselves ranged on opposite sides, while mis-understanding widens the breach, recriminations embitter the mind and misrepresentations serve to fan the fire into a flame. It was thus that we separated in 1907 and having grown wiser by our experience we have, I presume, learnt to know each other better. Let us now no longer disparage the old nor despise the young. If youthful zeal and enthusiasm are invaluable assets, the judgment and experience as also the caution and sobriety of the old are no less useful and indispensable. It is no doubt the brave soldier that fights and wins the battle, but even a *Narayani Sena* of old, the invincibles in the *Mahabharata*,

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31st INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(Continued from page 4.)

would be scattered to the winds without a veteran general to command them from behind. "Remember it is the "Old Congressmen" who have built this organisation, given a shape and form to it, worked out its details and inspired the people with the very ideal which is swaying their minds and surging in their thoughts from one end of the country to the other. Believing, as do in the evolution of a national life in perpetual succession, I have no difficulty in admitting that there is a limit also to caution, wisdom and sobriety beyond which they cannot be exercised without their forfeiting the characteristics of these virtues and without their degenerating into pusillanimity and moral turpitude. There is as much danger in rashness as in imbecility and the one may serve as a cloak for the inaction as the other may contribute to wreck the most useful institutions. It should be fairly acknowledged that if the "Old Congressmen" have so far failed to run faster than they have done, they have at least done one thing, in that they have walked steadily and never stumbled. Men run before they learn to walk and if walking is a slower process running is not certainly a surer method to avoid a fall. It is surely not wisdom to call our elders fools, for there are those coming after us who, following our precedent, may return the compliment with accumulated interest. Let us, therefore, give up all cants and like practical men firmly and resolutely, yet soberly and discreetly look the situation in the face, and with heart within and God overhead loyally follow the leaders who, if they have not won the battle yet have neither fallen back nor betrayed their trust. I most cordially welcome Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Matilal Ghose and other brave comrades who separated from us at Surat and have been happily restored to us at Lucknow. I rejoice to find that they are after all "of us" and "with us" and let us hope never, never to part again.

PRESIDENTIAL PRONOUNCEMENT.

Gentlemen, you naturally expect every year your President to make a clear and emphatic pronouncement, but you cannot expect your presidents—no, not even the tallest among them—to work miracles for you in a three days' session. The *ideal* of the Congress has long been well-defined and no new ideas are needed either to amplify or illustrate it, nor are fresh ideas as abundant as blackberries so that whoever passes by may pick up any number of them. The country has a number of grievances and the Congress has made certain demands to remove them. It has also decided that it shall use none but constitutional methods for the fulfilment of its demands. Your presidents can only perform the function of the air-man by taking a survey of the hostile positions, marking the points of relative strength and weakness and signalling the lines of attack; but, after all, you are the gunners who have to fix your batteries, take your aim and actively work at the machines. Your president's pronouncement even at its best can only be a faithful echo of the prevailing sentiments of the country. Lord Morley complained that he could not give us the moon, but we were never so moon-struck as to ask for the moon and his Lordship need have no fears that he has given us something more substantial than mere moonshine. Gentlemen, it will be my most earnest endeavour to throw some little light on some of the phases of the present situation, and if I cannot present to you even the faint light of the *Aurora borialis*, I shall certainly not presume to allure you by rising to your minds' eye the treacherously dancing flashes of the *Will-o'-the-wisp*. Gentlemen, if you have this time gone a little out of your way in choosing your president, that president may be permitted to go a little out of the way of all past precedents in addressing you on the present occasion. I propose to confine myself mainly to one question which is the all-absorbing topic of the day—the question of Self-government for India. It is an all embracing problem to the solution of which all other subsidiary questions are mere corollaries. If this one problem could be solved, the other problems would solve themselves. But before we proceed to discuss this question, we must have a clear idea of the form of government, under which mean placed the defects of that form of Government, the disabilities which we suffer therefrom, the system of Government that we want as a substitute for it and our capacity to receive such a substitute.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT WE LIVE IN.

It is now a matter of history that when a company of merchants introduced British rule in India in the middle of the 18th century, it was an absolutely despotic form of Government that was established in the country. Having regard to the unsettled state of the country and the internal dissensions and disputes not only among the different communities, but also among the people of the same community, any other form of Government would perhaps have been impossible at that time. A despotic form of Government is not necessarily synonymous with a bad government, but a beneficent despotism is of the exception and not of the rule. It is not every age or every country that can produce a Rama or a Harun-ul-Rashid, a Charlemagne or an Akbar. The Government of the East India Company over which British Parliament exercised little or no control, and the so-called Board of Control, very little supervision except for their own interest, was marked by nepotism and at its later stage by corruption. In spite of repeated warnings of Parliament education was neglected, justice was perfunctorily administered and the strong were permitted with impunity to oppress the weak. The Company which had developed small factories into vast territories naturally regarded their unprecedented acquisition as a huge commercial enterprise and considered the sovereign administration of the country as of lesser importance than the development of their trade and the increase of their profits. They viewed their own interest more than the interest of the people. It is a wonder that such a system of Government could have lasted so long and surely it lasted long enough to meet with a violent end.

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM.

After a hundred years of mis-rule it was at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the Government of the country from the Company to the Crown. From this time a system of Government was established in the country which gave altogether a new complexion to the administration. This Government was designated a "benevolent despotism"—an expression which though not exactly a contradiction in terms, was sufficient to indicate that the form of Government was still essentially a despotism, though tempered by generous and benevolent considerations. It was this Government which actuated by its benevolent intentions introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalised the administration and widened the views and deepened the loyalty of the people. It fostered liberal education, established justice, created public confidence in the integrity of the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced, though in a limited form, Self-Government in the local concerns of the people, admitted the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country and reformed the Councils by introducing an appreciable element of representation in them. It has annihilated time and space by the construction of railways and the establishment of telegraphic communication throughout the country. It has estabtished a form of administration which in its integrity and purity can well vie with any other civilised country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was until recently a boon of which any people may justly be proud. All this a "benevolent despotism" has accomplished.

BUREAUCRACY.

But here it stopped and after having exhausted all the resources which a personal benevolence could supply, it has slowly and imperceptibly yielded to the infirmities of its nature, and by a process of natural evolution has resolved itself into a system of barren and sterilizing bureaucracy. Despotism has done in this country what despotism has done elsewhere, and if it has failed to do more, it is because its nature could not have permitted it to do more. In the exercise of its beneficent influence it reached a stage and attained a height beyond which it was not possible for despotism to ascend. The bureaucracy which now rules the country is despotism condensed and crystallised. In it the Service is so firmly and indissolubly combined with the State that for all practical purposes the one may be said to be completely merged in the other—a combination which is infinitely more dangerous than the combination of the Judicial and the Executive functions of which we have heard so much. It is certainly not accountable to the people and the service and the state being one and the same it is responsible only to itself. It is essentially conservative in its temperament and thoroughly unprogressive in its character. Its efficiency is indisputable, its honesty and integrity beyond all question; but it is bound hand and foot to form a precedent lacking in life and soul. It can contract but it cannot expand. It holds all the threads of the administration within the hollow of its palm and can ill afford either to release or to relax any one of them. It is extremely jealous of its powers and intolerant of criticism. It sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, only it cannot allow them to grow. It has its idea of beauty and its Chinese shoe to give effect to it, however painful to its subject the operation may be. Like Narcissus of old it is so much entranced with the loveliness of its own shadow that it has neither the leisure nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others.

THE NEW SPIRIT.

But the people have completely outgrown this system and a new spirit has arisen in the country. Call it visionary, call it impatient idealism, call it intoxication if you choose, that spirit is the manifestation of a democratic force which is transforming the destinies of an old world to a new order of things. Under the pressure of this irresistible force time-honoured kingdoms and constitutions are crumbling to pieces and giving place to new ones, and hereditary monarchs of ancient and even celestial origin are quietly taking their exit, as on a stage without shedding a tear or a drop of blood. Portugal, Turkey, Persia and China all have felt the breath of this force. It is agitating Egypt and is pulsating the life of India. In India it has fortunately been of normal growth. This new spirit may be impulsive, but it is perfectly genuine and intensely patriotic. If sympathetically treated it may be directed in a proper channel, but it would be unwise either to ignore or try to repress it. Old ideas are changing faster than one can realize and it is no fault of the Indian people if they are unable to reconcile themselves to a patriarchal or a paternal form of Government. The present form of Government, whatever its claims for the maintenance of an orderly administration may be, is more or less an anachroniam. Sir Henry Cotton, who recalls with just pride that for three generations his family has been associated with the bureaucratic service in India, said that "the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, is doomed." While still in service he formulated a scheme of reconstruction which the Indian Public Service Commission of 1887 considered as "visionary." Now that another Royal Commission has been appointed to enquire into the Indian Pulbic Services, Sir Henry Cotton has again returned to the charge. Writing in the "Contemporary Review" and commenting on the terms of reference to the Commission, the Commission, which apparently assume the existing constitution as the permanent basis of Indian administration. Sir Henry Cotton says,—"But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return."

In a despotic form of Government everything is done *for* the people and nothing *by* the people. Its greatest drawback is that it makes the people whom it governs impotent to help themselves. It may make a people perfectly happy but it cannot make them resourceful nor even contented, self-reliant and manly in their life and conduct. Such a people must always be a burden to the State, and the "white man's burden" of which we hear so much is the creation of this despotic form of Government, and those who complain of India being a *"nuisance of the Empire"* ought to remember that it is the accumulated errors of this form of Government during the last hundred and fifty years and more. Even in a benevolent despotism there is but one patriot and that patriot is either the despot or the close bureaucracy in which the Government is vested. As in a patriarchal family, the subjects of a despotic Government are of a stunted growth and are all more or less like spoiled children incapable of either helping themselves or helping the *Pater familia*.

BUREAUCRACY NEARING ITS END.

But to its credit it must be recorded that this benevolent despotism has done one thing—it has prepared its own coffin and has written on it its own epitaph with its own hand. Despotism was wholly repugnant to the British instinct and entirely foreign to the British Constitution, and what it did, therefore, was to prepare a curious admixture of two incongruous substances, a bureaucratic constitution leavened with democratic ideas, which can never coalesce but can serve only to neutralize each other. Paradoxical as it may seem and strange as it may sound, this despotism has throughout consciously or unconsciously and perhaps in fits of absent-mindedness, worked up to its own subversion, and like the fabulous Phoenix, in anticipation of its allotted cycle of years, prepared its own nest of spices, set fire to it and flapped that fire into a flame with its own wings singing its melodious song to consume itself into ashes out of which to rise again in a glorious re-birth. From the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reform of 1909, the British Parliament has not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of Government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced into the country and the elective principle recognised in the higher Councils of the Empire have all tended to undermine the old system of Government which it would be a vain attempt now either to rebuild or to repair.

A CHAPTER OF MISTAKES.

The bureaucracy have, however, discovered the mistakes of their predecessors. But it is not as easy to rectify as to discover mistakes. We too may have discovered many a mistake of our grandfathers. But what avails it to cry over spilt milk? It is more than vaguely suggested that it was a mistake to have opened the eyes of the Indian people. I fully admit that from the point of view of these critics it was a great mistake—the greatest indeed ever committed by a despotic Government, benevolent or otherwise. It was a great mistake to have issued the Education Despatch of 1854, and it was a great blunder to have confirmed that mistake by the establishment of Universities at Calcutta in 1857, at Bombay and Madras in 1858, at Lahore in 1882 and at Allahabad in 1887. It was a mistake to have granted liberty to the press and freedom of speech throughout the country: it was a mistake to have introduced local self-government in 1884, and it was a greater mistake to have reformed the Councils in 1892 and again in 1910. It is a chapter, nay a whole volume, of mistakes which have been committed by successive parliaments and administrations which, I am afraid, it is too late either to amend or to rectify. It is the instinct of the British people and the spirit of the British constitution which led the British Parliament to this long series of mistakes. But there has always been a counteracting force in India, and, for aught we know, but for these mistakes both India and England might have met with greater difficulties. In recent years there has always been a tendency to cry "halt" and every step forced upon the bureaucracy in the forward march by the irresistible current of events has been followed by a paroxysm of regret, and all that the Government has been able to do to retain its ancient character and at the same time to keep pace with the pressing demands of the ceaseless march of time has invariably presented the appearance of the texture of the faithful Penelope unravelling by night what is woven by day. Vain attempts are these. The tide has set in and it will not roll back under any human command. You may and have to adjust and re-adjust your wind-mill occasionally, but you cannot turn back the course of the river. The best and only remedy therefore now is not to go back but to press forward, not to cling to an obsolete and worn out institution which is no longer suited to the present condition of the country, but firmly and cautiously adapt the constitution to the requirements of the time and adjust it to the growing demands of the people. Every declaration made by the Government, every report of commissions and committees having a bearing upon the present unrest and every legislative measure passed to cope with the disturbed state of the country bear testimony to the fact that there is a struggle going on between a benevolent despotism and an overgrown people who with all their defects and shortcomings are no longer satisfied with the present system. On the one hand there is manifested in almost every direction a marked tendency in the people to break through the leading strings by which they have been held so long and assert their constitutional rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire, and on the other hand, there is an equally persistent attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to maintain its prestige and authority.

A CONFLICT.

It is a case of clear conflict between the forces of an old constitution and the new spirit, and as the inevitable result of such a conflict a state of things has arisen for which neither may be wholly responsible, but from which both have equally to suffer, although the presumption in such a case is always in favour of the people according to all political philosophers. "I am not one of those," says Burke, "who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people." In quoting this dictum of Burke with approbation Lord Morley who has recently dealt more with India than any other living British statesman, adds—"Nay experience perhaps justifies him in going further. When popular discontents are prevalent, something has generally been found amiss in the constitution or the administration." And truly does Burke observe, "The people have no interest in disorder. When they go wrong, it is their error and not their crime." Then the great political philosopher continues in the words of Sully which his biographer passionately enjoins that "both practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks, and write upon the tables of their hearts"—"The revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. . . . . As for the populace it is never from a passion that it rebels, but from impatience of sufferings." It is in the nature of a bureaucratic administration to have absolute confidence in its own judgment and little respect for the opinions of others. The British Government, as established in India at the present day, has no doubt long ceased to be an absolute despotism, nor can it be described as a popular Government. A cursory examination of its policies and its practices will disclose the nature of this conflict and the stage at which it has arrived due as much to the process of natural evolution as to the legitimate sequence of events to which that policy has so largely contributed. Gentlemen, be it understood that we are here to criticise Government and not to sing its praises. If, therefore, we have more to refer to its defects and short-comings it is not to be presumed that we are wholly insensible to its many good points or are unable to appreciate them. Nor do I feel pressed to enter upon any vindication of our loyalty to the Throne as it is above all cavil or criticism.

EDUCATION.

To take up the question of education first, as it is the foremost problem in the evolution of a nation. Ever since the Crown took up the reins of government it was actuated by a broad and liberal policy of educating the people and elevating them in the scale of nations. Worried and wearied with the evasive policy of the East India Company, the Board of Control under the guidance of a far-sighted statesman, Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, issued the memorable Despatch of 1854 which is now known as the great charter of Education in India. In persuance to this Despatch a University was established in 1857 in the then Capital of the Empire.

But the mutiny having broken out almost simultaneously a pretext was easily found to propose a change of policy. Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, came to the rescue and in a letter to Lord Ellenborough, who was then the President of the Board of Control, neatly disposed of the objections raised. Sir Frederick wrote:—"On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion, our wisdom, no less than our duty, is to persevere in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Behar or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty, the progress of Bengal, within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gun-powder to all kinds of dangerous influences and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gunpowder nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of the many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences." No more statesmanlike view of the situation, or a more crushing reply, could have been advanced, and the Government of Lord Canning made a firm stand against the hysteric cry of an alarmist crowd. I have purposely quoted this long extract, for it will be seen that the same cry has again been raised in recent years and has contributed not a little to the shaping of the present educational policy of the Government, with this difference that there is neither a Halliday nor a Canning to take a dispassionate perspective of the situation and boldly adhere to the noble policy of 1854. In 1858 two more Universities were established in Bombay and Madras, and in the following year another Despatch was issued under the authority of the Crown re-affirming the great Despatch of 1854 and laying down in clear and emphatic terms that greater impetus should be given to education in the future than had been done in the past, that more colleges and schools should be established throughout the country, that more systematic and sustained efforts should be made for the education of the masses, and that an unstinted measure of encouragement should be extended to private enterprise towards the furtherance of education by state-grants and scholarships. It has to be noticed that having regard to the aptitude of the people and to the extraordinary zeal and eagerness evinced by them for the spread of education, it was further laid down, that *Government should be reluctant to open Government institutions whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work.* Under the inspiring influence of this noble policy a great impetus was given to the cause of education and colleges and schools rapidly increased throughout the country. This policy continued in its uninterrupted course till 1882 when under the Government of Lord Ripon another Education Commission was appointed for the further development of the educational system. Lord Ripon considering the inadequate number of Universities, conceived the idea of adding two more Universities, one of which he himself established at Lahore in 1882, and the other was established by his successor at Allahabad in 1887.

But here dropped the curtain over the educational progress of India. The growing clamour of the people for increased rights and privileges and their incessant demand for participation in the administration of the country led a nervous bureaucracy to regard education in the same light as it was regard in 1857. The people having their minds and ideas expanded by Western education were aspiring to Western institutions. It was indeed the dawning of "the proudest day of England" which Macaulay in his prophetic vision had foreseen and anticipated nearly seventy years before. But unfortunately for India and England with the advent of Lord Curzon the educational policy of the Government underwent a marked transformation.

Lord Curzon came in 1899 with twelve problems in his pocket for the execution of which he obtained unfortunately for himself as well as for India a further extension of his office during which the "brilliant Viceroy" in the name of efficiency, set back the hand of progress in almost every direction, education receiving his foremost attention. It was a veritable Pandora's Box that he carried which let loose all the forces of unrest, dislocating the existing order of things, reversing past policies and filling the minds of the people with concern and anxiety, hope alone remaining. Here were sown the seeds of that discontent which a Milton might well have invoked his muse to sing and from which both the Government and the country have been reaping so abundantly. His educational policy of 1902 culminating in the Indian Universities Act of 1904 dealt a death-blow to the further expansion of education and by its stringent rules and regulations sapped all indigenous enterprise for its further development. It was argued that the previous policy had served to extend the surface at the sacrifice of depth, and that a shearing process was necessary to check all superfluous growth. Pruning is undoubtedly good, but the use of the pruning knife on a growing plant before it has put forth abundant leaves and branches is an operation which is calculated more to destroy than to improve. These rules and regulations would have been unobjectionable if any equal care had been taken for the proper accommodation of the ever increasing influx of boys pressing every year for admission into the existing institutions. Hundreds of young men are debarred from the colleges and thousands of boys are thrown out of schools and turned adrift aimless and unequipped into this world to fight out the battle of life. It is an undeniable fact that within the narrow scope of the present regulations some improvements have been effected and larger grants have in recent years been made for education; but it cannot be overlooked that nearly 40 per cent. of these grants are absorbed in supervision and superintendence while general education as well as the lower educational services are being practically starved. Depth may be preferred to surface, but a "top heavy" construction is always unsafe in any structure even with the deepest foundation which human ingenuity may devise. In a country which, with the exception of Russia is larger than the continent of Europe, there are now no more than 150 colleges of all sorts and a little over 1300 high schools and 1,72,000 primary schools for the education of the masses for a population of over 255 millions, and yielding a percentage of barely 7 literate men out of this vast population. It may be noted here that two-thirds of these colleges and three-fourths of the high schools are private institutions. This is the sum-total of educational progress made under a benevolent despotism during a period of 160 years and imagination fails to pierce into the dim and distant future when even half the population of this vast continent shall be so far advanced as to be able to read and write their names. That is how education stands in the country after more than one and a half centuries of British rule, and yet a modest Bill introduced by a Congressman for Elementary Education was thrown out with a few complimentary platitudes. The people demand a general diffusion of elementary education for the mass as preferrable to no education, while Government insists upon better education for a few rather than wide-spread light for the many. No one can reasonably object to the quality of education for the few being improved, but a belief has gained ground in the public mind, not without some show of reason, that Government has begun to view the educational problem with suspicion and distrust and to reverse the engine for a backward motion. There is, however, no room for doubt that under the plea for creating a "serene atmosphere of education" political considerations have been largely introduced in the department of Education. In driving out the wooden chip the iron nail has been thrust in. Teachers have turned into spies and not in few cases are superintendents suspected of having assumed the role of C. I. D. officers. The sanctity of the temples of learning has been violated and our boys and young men are brought up in the unhealthy atmosphere of what may called insecure jails. This the people sorely resent and here the first conflict has taken place between a sensitive subject race and an autocratic Government, each believing the other to be in the wrong and neither trusting the other either for mutual understanding or for a rational settlement of the question.

The Patna University Bill, which empowers the Chancellor to deal with any matter connected with the University in any manner "that may seem to him to be

(Continued on page 8.)

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THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

Wednesday, December 27, 1916.

INDIA'S MESSAGE.

We congratulate the Indian National Congress on having secured the Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar for their thiryt-first session. A unique importance attaches to this year's Congress,—in a truly Imperial sense India is at the parting of the ways,—and it would have been little short of a national calamity if her spokesman had fallen short of the high trust with which he was honoured. As it is Mr. Mazumdar has risen to the full height of the great responsibility with which he was entrusted. He has been more than a spokesman: he has proved himself a true, loyal and staunch patriot, thus fitly crowning a career of remarkably unselfish, patient and single-minded devotion to the cause of his country. And there is a moral here which may as well be pointed now as at any other time. The Presidentship of the National Congress is, in existing circumstances, the highest honour to which any Indian may aspire, the highest representative position to which he may be called. It must be seen to, more stringently than ever in the future, that no one shall be led to it except, as in the case of Mr. Mazumdar, along the path of disinterested, tried and devoted service to the nation. Then alone will the feelings, sentiments and wishes of India be fully and faithfully represented, as they were at Lucknow. We have remarked that a very special significance attaches to the meeting of the Indian National Congress now in session at Lucknow. The reasons are obvious. The future of the British Empire is being moulded before our eyes. Even in the terrific preoccupation of these days nothing is more patent than that. Indeed, it is because of this, and nowhere, we imagine, is the realization of that fact clearer than in Great Britain, that we find the entire energies of the Empire concentrated, with an intensity unparalleled in its history, upon the prosecution of the war. And the future of the British Empire is a problem that can neither exclude, nor be independent of, the question of India. We use the phrase advisedly, because there *is* an Indian question,—vital, immediate, insistent,—and it is full time for British statesmanship to confront it fairly and squarely.

What is that question? The Presidential address of the Indian National Congress is a comprehensive survey and presentment of it. But it will suffice for our present purpose to deal with the essentials of the matter, putting all details and side-issues on one side.

The Indian question resolves into this: that in the process of evolution India has reached a stage where her existing system of Government fails her completely. The administrative machinery that was devised for her benefit has outlived its usefulness: it has now dissolved into so many fetters on her national growth and self-realization. Apart altogether from moral considerations, let us see what it amounts to as an instrument of governance. By its whole history, tradition and interest, the bureaucracy which rules India is prone to creating a monopoly of power, prestige, authority and, let us add, in no offensive sense, profit, in its own favour. "Let Curzon hold what Curzon held," has been, must be, its motto. Whether as an ideal or as a practice that is irreconcilable with the just, the fundamental, rights of any people, Indian or other. Nor is the principle of the position affected in the slightest by the fact, which was fully attested to and acknowledged by Mr. Mazumdar,—that the bureaucrats are almost without exception men of integrity and ability. Efficiency is a great thing, but efficiency is not liberty, and India wants liberty to call her soul her own. She does not want things done *for* her, but to do them herself. She wants, in short, to see the enforcement, in all its inexorable logic, of the doctrine, laid down by a British Prime Minister, that "Good Government cannot be a substitute for Self-government." To put it more concretely, in the words of the President of the Indian National Congress:—

India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

And, in due time, India shall want England's answer, in full confidence that those who have been the creators of the traditions of freedom cannot be false to their destiny.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S OPPORTUNITY.

What is India thinking, to-day? The thought that is uppermost in the mind,—that to which the whole current of discussion bearing upon the future of India runs back,—is about expectant India. India is expectant, fervently, wholeheartedly so. Her hopes and anticipations are based upon promises and pledges of the most solemn import, upon her proved fitness to advance along the lines of political progress laid down by the Delhi Despatch, and upon her unquestioned loyalty to, and sacrifices for, the Empire. These are no idle claims. The tendency has been to ignore India, before the war: she was a problem for the specialists to tackle, and your favourite specialist of the Curzon-Ronaldshay school was the travelled Thane of means who "did" Turkistan and Baluchistan and Seistan, with Kashmir thrown in between, explored the Himalayas, wrote a book or two of "studies" of Cathay, subsequently graduating at that very select University, the Central Asian Society. The bureaucrat in India was rather partial to an arrangement which, while it secured him his position as supreme master of the Indian administrative household, enabled him to feed this type of "Pagett, M. P." with "ideas,"—that is, the type of "Pagett, M.P." with an aptitude for the right *kind* of learning. The Indian Empire has hitherto been run by these two types of "statesmen." Of the average House of Commons man, the less said the better. His local preoccupations effectually precluded his having an intelligent knowledge of or active interest in the Empire in general, and India in particular. The interests and feelings of the teeming millions of India weigh as dust, in the balance, judged by the false weights and measures applied by the experts of bodies like the Central Asian Society and the East India Association. The only certain thing the Central Asian group knew was the value of their own studies of Cathay. The bureaucrat cared for nothing except the efficiency of the machine secured by his own ministrations on behalf of the Indian Empire. The average House of Commons man, who derived his knowledge of India from "The Times" and the "Daily Mail," had an uneasy consciousness that India was the land of "perils"!

The relative values of things have much altered since the war; but the counsels of the experts persist, much to the Empire's disadvantage. Even Mr. Lloyd George, who has so much of the iconoclast in him, perhaps labours under the weight of the cramping conservatism which has consigned India into the hands of the experts referred to. Most Viceroys and Governors have not been able to withstand the subtle influence of the bureaucratic atmosphere that pervades the entire administration. No Viceroy had the art, the secret of which was possessed by Lord Hardinge, of calling up the latent forces of Indian popular opinion to redress the balance against the bureaucracy. The great question that now awaits Lord Chelmsford's solution is whether he is to follow the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, or whether Indian public opinion is to be decisively ignored, its generous enthusiasms smothered, and the whole current of our future diverted along undesirable courses. The choice is Lord Chelmsford's, and Lord Chelmsford's only. On the one side, here is great India eagerly waiting for a rallying cry. On the other, there is no more discredited counsellor than the titled or untitled person in England cherishing the hideous memories of his experiments and defeats in Indian policy. To hearken to the latter would lead to derangement worse than any known to any reactionary pro-consul of the past. The bureaucracy is a fragile reed to lean upon at the best of times,—it is more so now when it is hard put to it to reconcile its claims to possession of exclusive power with those of Indian political progress. It is idle to expect useful lead or light from that quarter. We venture to suggest, that it is to Indian public opinion mainly that Lord Chelmsford must look for guidance in the present and for his justification in the future.

From this point of view, Lord Chelmsford's speeches at Calcutta, cast on somewhat conventional lines, must be regarded as disappointig. No one expects any finality of Viceregal utterance at the present moment on the great issues that are awaiting solution. On the other hand, the fullest allowance must be made for one in the position of Lord Chelmsford, who has yet to assimilate the Indian point of view, and while the process lasts, we should have expected him to be both cautious and tentative in any expression of opinion. It must be said that his Excellency has not kept within the limits of wise reticence. What, for instance, is to be said of the following sentiments in his Excellency's reply to the address of the Indian Association;—

There are doubtless some of you who think our footsteps halting, and our progress slow. But I should be dishonest if I held out any hope that progress will be rapid. Neither the British constitution nor the British temperament is fond of catastrophic changes. Nor are such changes consistent with development on sound and healthy lines.

Now, we marvel where his Excellency got the notion that any reasonable Indian wanted "catastrophic changes"! The essence, and the justification, of the demands put forward is advance on sound and healthy lines, in pursuance of the scheme of ordered progress to which his Excellency himself appeals. As we pointed out the other day, the progress hitherto has not been steady or sure, and in several instances the progress, as Sir N. Chandarvarkar would say, has been in the "direction of the tail"! The Indian demand is that the pace should be quickened towards a definite goal. Surely, it is rather late in the day to talk to Indians about the genius of the British constitution and the characteristics of the British temperament, and we are not quite so sure that what his Excellency says about both is not rather misleading. There is nothing in the British constitution which forbids the amendment of any statute, or the reform or abolition of any harmful practice, or convention. As for the British temperament, the history of the last two years abundantly testifies to its susceptibility to undergo the most catastrophic changes. But that is neither here nor there. The thing that immediately matters is a bureaucratic constitution and a bureaucratic temperament whose combined influence threatens to overweigh and stifle Indian progress. That is the spirit in which we had expected his Excellency to approach the consideration of a momentous problem. We should have liked his Excellency to take his own time, weigh well the pros and cons, and deliver a message of hope and good-cheer to India. The time is past for idle Despatch-writing. It is his privilege to let England know the minimum that India expects and would accept. A decisive word in that respect should override pussilanimous counsels emanating from any quarter in England. After all, it is given to his Excellency and not to departed pro-consuls and bureaucratic fossils to give an account to his Sovereign of the manner in which he discharged his trusteeship. He is not called upon to take shelter under anybody's name or to protect any bureaucratic formula. Let him look before and after, choose wisely, and go a-head.

Notes of the Day.

Sir Edward Carson's Outburst.

Sir Edward Carson began his speech at the Ulster Association with the remark that he "had almost forgotten politics." Before the end of it he had shown that he remembered party politics only too well. His latest outburst is one of the most gratuitously rancorous and untimely pronouncements that even he has made. His career since the war has been unstable to a degree, and his future, as we know, has been a matter of concern and speculation even among his friends. But it is to be feared that unless his impulses can be controlled for him, his habitual irresponsibility may cost the Empire dear. The Ulster leader is now a member of the Government, Mr. Lloyd George having pitchforked him into one of the few positions of paramount importance in the Ministry, and he signalises his new appointment by an utterance which, in its truculent intimidation, is calculated once more to set Ireland by the ears. This statesman selects the present moment, of all others, to reveal to the world, and to the enemy, the unity of the Empire by talking of his own party as "the only democracy, the only real free democracy, in Ireland," and asks, "Is there to be peace, or is is to be more war?"—when this war is over! Having erected a bogey of internecine strife in his unhappy country he then proceeds: "If any man dares to lay a hand upon the liberty we will have won I tell you I shall not hesitate once more to sound the reveille, and to ask our men once more to come forward and champion the cause for which they have died"! Who says, after this, that Sir Edward is not Irish?

Switzerland to the Belligerents.

There is a pathetic note in the Swiss support of President Wilson's Note on the German peace offer which arrests attention. We are told that Switzerland is seriously threatened and is struck in her spiritual and material interests. That is true enough, not only as regards Switzerland but all the smaller States which have not joined the belligerents. That is an ironic comment of no more than passing interest on a war which undoubtedly, so far as the Allies are concerned, was entered into with the desire that room must be found and kept for the independence and free development of the smaller States. What has happened in Switzerland might happen in the larger States. This is only another way of saying that this is a world war, in the waging of which the material and spiritual interests of the world at large stand to be affected. The nature and extent of the injury might vary, but injury there must be. To talk of the interests of any small sufferer, as a consequence of the war, and of ending the war to relieve that suffering is to lose all sense of proportion. Once the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the smaller States, as those of every State, are secured,—and they cannot be secured without the ending of German militarism,—it will be time enough to reckon up and, if possible, to make good, the losses. The Swiss plaint would be more pertinent in future discussion of security after the war. As a reason for bringing about the premature cessation of the war, it is negligible.

India at Imperial Conference.

One of the remarkable passages in Mr. Lloyd George's speech last week was the tribute he paid to the part played by the Dominions in the war. The reason that prompted the Premier to this was, to quote his own words, "that the Government felt that the time had come when the Dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and course of the war, and as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory and the best methods of garnering in its fruits." This the Premier, accordingly, proposed to do by summoning an Imperial Conference "at an early date." A telegram to-day states that the Imperial Conference is to be held early in the year and that Ministers of all the self-governing Colonies have been invited to attend it. The question naturally arises: What about India? Lord Hardinge was authorised to accept, on behalf of the Home Government, India's claim to representation at this Conference. It is true that the acceptance was qualified by the suggestion that India's entry would depend on the general consent of the Dominions concerned. India, however, is less concerned in this matter with the pleasure of the Dominions than with her own rights. Not that we have any doubt that the Dominions, when consulted, would welcome her participation in the deliberations of the Conference. Now, therefore, that a definite date has been fixed for it there will be natural public expectation of the announcement that India, together with the Dominions, has been asked to send her representative to the Conference.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGES TO SOLDIERS.

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SECOND TO SICK AND WOUNDED:—"At this Christmastide the Queen and I are thinking more than ever of the sick and wounded among my sailors and soldiers. From our hearts we wish them strength to bear their suffering, speedy restoration to health and peaceful Christmas and many happier years to come."—GEORGE R. I.

CHRISTMAS CHEER TO MESOPOTAMIAN TROOPS.

GRATEFUL THANKS TO BOMBAY WOMEN.

The following telegram has been received by Lady Willingdon from Major-General Sir F. S. Maude, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., G.O.C., Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force:—

"Most grateful thanks for your Excellency's kind message which is much appreciated. These wishes are warmly reciprocated to yourself and women of Bombay Presidency whose thoughts and efforts appear to be ever concentrated on the welfare of our troops in Mesopotamia."

Official and Personal.

Lord and Lady Willingdon inspected the Body Guard in their Lines on Monday evening. Their Excellencies attended Evening Service at the Cathedral the same day.

Their Excellencies hunted yesterday morning with the Bombay hounds.

Sir Dorab Tata and Mr. Gubbay visited his Excellency at Government House during the morning.

Their Excellencies attended a performance at the Excelsior Theatre, yesterday evening.

Colonel Godfrey Collins, M.P., Mr. W. L. B. Souter and Commander L. N. Turton, R.N., have left Government House.

H. H. the Nizam left Bombay for Hyderabad by a special train on Monday.

GERMAN PRESS ATTACKS DR. WILSON.

IDEA OF MEDIATION REPUDIATED.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE.

SWISS FEDERAL COUNCIL'S SUPPORT.

SWITZERLAND SERIOUSLY MENACED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
BERNE, Dec. 24.
Recd 7 p.m., Dec. 25.

The Swiss Federal Council has addressed a Note to the belligerents supporting the Note from President Wilson, with whom, the Council says, it got into touch five weeks ago. The Note says Switzerland is seriously threatened and is struck in her spiritual and material interests, and is ready to aid with all her feeble strength in ending the sufferings of the war and establishing lasting peace.

A telegram from Paris says it is reported that the Foreign Affairs Committee of Chamber is requesting M. Braind not to reply to President Wilson's Note.

FRENCH PRESS COMMENTS ON SWISS NOTE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PARIS, Dec. 25.
Recd. 7 p.m. Dec 25.

Newspapers accord the Swiss Note the same reception as that given to President Wilson's Note. They point out how Germany trampled on the neutrals at the beginning of the war in order to attain her aims of crushing and subjugating others. The papers say that the war should be viewed from this standpoint, not from to-day's situation.

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN PRESS COMMENTS.

IDEA OF MEDIATION REPUDIATED.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
LONDON, Dec. 24
Recd. 2-30 a.m. Dec 26.

Contrary to anticipation, instead of welcoming his Note the German press generally attacks President Wilson and repudiates the idea of mediation. The Catholic and Krupp organs declare that his note is the part of a preconcerted game between the United States and Great Britain with a view to business peace in favour of England.

The Austrian comment is reserved and obscure. It believes that the Note will keep the perce question in the foreground, strengthening the pacifists in the Entente countries and compelling the latter to discuss reasonable peace.

NEED OF A WISE ANSWER.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" WARNING

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 2-30 a.m., Dec. 26.

The "Manchester Guardian" believes that the Note, if wisely answered, will only help the Allied cause. The paper says it seems to have been forgotten in this country that the Note is addressed to all the belligerents and that President Wilson in a passage suggesting that both the sides are fighting for the same objects said—"this is what the belligerents tell their own countrymen." This might be regarded by the Germans with any sense of humour as a severe sarcasm. The "Guardian" warns the Allies against being betrayed into playing Germany's game if they put themselves into the wrong with America.

VIEWS OF MR. HUGHES.

RATHER AN ULTIMATUM THAN EFFORT AT MEDIATION.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
MELBOURNE, Dec. 24.
Recd 7 p.m., Dec. 25.

Mr. Hughes regards President Wilson's Note as an ultimatum rather than an effort at mediation in view of Mr. Lansing's statement regarding the United States being near the verge of war.

WILSON'S NEW ROLE.

PLAIN SPEAKING BY ALLIED PRESS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
ALLAHABAD, Dec. 26.

A "Pioneer" special cable says:—

The persistence in America, of the belief in the possibility of the conclusion of an early peace, recalls the circumstances of the termination of the Russo-Japanese war. The contemplation of the war map was then as pleasant for Japan as it is to-day for Germany, but Japan finally consenting to a division of Saghalien and waiving the claim to indemnity showed how far territorial gains were from being the ruling factor. The Imperial Chancellor's bombast is regarded in New York as in no way indicative of the terms Germany is willing to make. It is even suggested she would pay an indemnity to Belgium in preference to spending an equal sum on continuing the fight.

"An American" writing in "The Times," states Dr. Wilson's action should be attributed not to pro-Germanism but to amiable, world ignorant, untutored pacifism. As to its real practical value this commentator points out the present Congress ceases to exist in March and the President need not summon a new one until the following December. If Dr. Wilson's domination of the present Congress should secure an embargo on exports to the Allies, this could be maintained unrepealed until the end of 1917. Even in the present Congress, however, such legislation would be difficult. The manufacturers in the North-east would demand the placing of equal restrictions on wheat and cotton which would utterly ruin the Southern States, a thing to which no Democratic President would assent. Dr. Wilson must also recall the anti-British embargo acts early in the last century which were notoriously disastrous to the United States.

A Toronto telegram remarks the war will be settled by nations using guns not by one who defends the world's liberties with a typewriter.

The "Morning Post" asks Dr. Wilson whether the United States is prepared to organise themselves for war and to undertake to fight for the preservation of any terms made with Germany. If not what shall prevent an undefeated Germany from breaking her word to-morrow as she broke is yesterday. If Dr. Wilson wishes to end the war now, let him either help the Allies to defeat Germany or help Germany to defeat the Allies.

The "Daily Chronicle" describes Dr. Wilson's placing the declarations of both sides on equality as a deep, although unintentional insult.

"The Times" Washington correspondent explains Dr. Wilson is obliged to do this in order to have any influence with the other side. A suitable reception of the Note by the Allies might create strong neutral support for Mr. Lloyd George's argument that Germany must prove she is repentant and ready to make reparation for her sins.

WILSON "PLAYING BRITISH GAME."

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette" cable says:—

The "Cologne Gazette" says that Mr. Wilson is endeavouring to secure the publication of the belligerents' peace conditions, playing the British game and supporting Mr. Lloyd George. It demands that the Quadruple Alliance shall not add to its published statements but wait and see whether Mr. Wilson secures a confidential discussion on this basis.

FOOD RIOTS IN DRESDEN.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette" special cable says:—

The Exchange Telegram Company's Rotterdam correspondent says, women in Dresden on Sunday threw stones at food shops which were closed and had no stock. They also made a demonstration before the Palace. On Monday some were arrested for insulting the King. On Tuesday thtre was a conflict with the police, 100 women being seriously injured. The soldiers charged.

GERMANY RAPIDLY DECAYING.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette" cable says:—

The Rome correspondent of the Central News Agency quotes a neutral traveller from Hamburg as saying that a revolution is knocking at the door of Berlin. The police are powerless to maintain order in Hamburg. The authorities daily destroy thousands of placards demanding peace and food. The whole of Germany gives an impression that the country is rapidly decaying.

PERILS OF PREMATURE PEACE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 0-30 a.m., Dec. 27.

President Wilson's note was the theme of numerous sermons in churches of all denominations, especially Nonconformist, pointing out the perils of a premature peace and the tragic mistake of confusing the objects of the belligerents.

MESOPOTAMIAN OFFENSIVE.

HEAVY BOMBARDMENT IN PROGRESS.

RAIDS ON ADVANCED ENEMY BASE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 23.
Recd 7 p.m., Dec. 25.

A Mesopotamia communiqué says our aeroplanes twice raided the Turkish advanced base near Baghailah. Our artillery heavily bombarded the hostile trenches near Kutelamara and Sannaiyat.

MOLDAVIAN FRONT

ENEMY FAILURE IN USA VALLEY.

RUSSIANS ABANDON ISAKTCHEA.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 26.

A Russian communiqué says the enemy repeatedly attempted, but failed, to recapture the heights in the Usa Valley on the Moldavian frontier, the slopes of which are covered with enemy corpses.

The Roumanians were pushed back in places in the region of the Kasino River in the Vranchea Mountains.

All enemy attacks on the left of the Danube were repelled except that a height was lost on our left. We abandoned Isaktchea in the Dobrudja.

SITUATION IN DOBRUDJA.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 25.

A Berlin communiqué says the Dobrudja is cleared of the enemy to the region between Macin and Isaccea.

COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF ROUMANIAN OIL-WELLS.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
AMSTERDAM, Dec. 25.
Recd. 7 p.m. Dec. 25.

The Krupps' organ "Westfaelische Zeitung" admits the complete destruction of the Roumanian oil-wells, which the Germans found practically useless.

FIGHTING IN THE CARPATHIANS.

ENEMY TRENCHES NEAR CUSSA CAPTURED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PETROGRAD, Dec. 25.
Recd. 7 p.m. Dec. 25.

A communiqué says in the Carpathians, after artillery preparation, the Russians attacked the enemy trenches on the heights north of river Cussa and captured them after violent hand-to-hand fighting.

Furious struggle continues in Roumania.

RUSSIAN ADVANCE GUARDS DRIVEN BACK.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 25.

A Russian communiqué says the enemy drove back our advance guards north-west, west and south-west of Rymniksarat. We continue to fall back northward in the Dobrudja.

FRENCH MINISTER OF BLOCKADE.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
PARIS, Dec. 25.
Recr. 1-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

The Government has placed the direction of the blockade under the charge of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

KAISER'S MESSAGE TO HIS TROOPS

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd 10-45 a.m., Dec. 26.

The Kaiser has sent a message to his troops on the occasion of the Christmas saying "Honour God above and peace on earth. God bless the third war Christmas."

GROUNDED GERMAN LINER REFLOATED

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
COPENHAGEN, Dec. 24.
Recd 7 p.m., Dec. 25.

The German liner Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm, which grounded at Samsoe, has been refloated.

MISS ELIZABETH ASQUITH ENGAGED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26
Recd. 0-30 a.m., Dec. 27.

Miss Elizabeth Asquith is engaged to the American diplomat Mr. Gibson who tried to save Nurse Cavell.

ROUMANIA'S GRIM RESOLVE.

CONFIDENCE IN ALLIED CAUSE.

KING FERDINAND'S STIRRING SPEECH.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
JASSY, Dec. 25.
Recd 10-45 a.m., Dec. 26.

The King in a speech at the opening of Parliament said:—

"Our army has sustained, the struggle according to the glorious tradition of our ancestors in a manner justifying our looking forward to the future with absolute confidence. Roumania will bear great hardships and sacrifices of the war courageously, absolutely confident in the victory of the Alllies on whose side Roumania is determined to struggle with every energy unto the end."

GREECE AND THE ENTENTE.

TEXT OF THE NOTE TO ALLIES.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
ATHENS, Dec. 24.
Recd. 2-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

The text of the Greek note of the 20th regrets that the continuance of the blockade and the Entente's toleration of artificial extension of the revolutionary movement in the Islands is disquieting the population and hampering the rapprochement between the Entente and Greece. It urges that the Entente should seek with Greece improvement in the present situation with a view to quicken the settlement of questions at issue and declares that if anarchy spread in the country, the Government may be no longer able to maintain order.

ALLIES' OFFENSIVE IN SALONIKA.

SOME MAINLINE TRENCHES RAIDED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8 a.m., Dec. 25.

There was a moderate amount of artillery work in Macedonia.

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 26.

A Salonika communiqué says we successfully raided the main-line trenches between Lake Doiran and Doldzeli and inflicted serious loss and destroyed several gun emplacements.

PARIS, Dec. 26.
Recd. 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

There was a violent artillery struggle north of Monastir.

ATTACK IN GORIZA.

ENEMY PATROLS DRIVEN OFF.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 26.

An Italian communiqué says the enemy patrols attacking south-east of Goriza were driven off. Some prisoners were taken.

ILL-FATED CALEDONIA.

MR. AMERY'S EXPERIENCE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26
Recd. 0-30 a.m., Dec. 27.

Mr. L. Amery, M.P., in an account of his escape in a boat from the Caledonia, which was sunk, says a giant submarine trained a gun on the boats which it closely examined. Mr. Amery hid beneath the steersman's feet, escaping notice. The submarine subsequently made off carrying away the captain of the ship.

ELECTION OF MINISTERS.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26
Recd. 0-30 a.m., Dec. 27.

Ministers H. A. L. Fisher and Sir Albert Stanley have been elected for Sheffield and Ashton-under-Lyne unopposed.

BRITISH SUCCESS IN EGYPT.

MAGHDABAH STRONGHOLD CAPTURED.

1,130 PRISONERS TAKEN.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

An official message from Egypt says our mounted troops captured the stronghold a tMaghdabah, taking 1,130 prisoners two guns and a large booty. The enemy's casualties were considerable.

Our aircraft co-operated with bombs and machine guns. Our aeroplanes continue to harass the enemy.

SULTAN HONOURS GENERAL WINGATE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
CAIRO, Dec. 25.
Recd 10-45 a.m., 26.

The Sultan has conferred the Grand Cross of Mohamed Ali on General Wingate in recognition of his eminent services to Egypt. He says:—"Thanks to you the Egyptian army has attained its present perfection and not only is Sudan definitely pacified but the ancient frontiers have been restored by the retaking of Barfur."

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

TO BE HELD EARLY IN NEW YEAR

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
MELBOURNE, Dec. 24.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 25.

Mr. Hughes has been invited to attend the Imperial Conference to be held early in the year. It is believed that he will accept the invitation.

SERIES OF WAR COUNCIL MEETINGS

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26
Recd. 0-30 a.m., Dec. 27.

"The Times" states that all the Prime Ministers of the Dominions have been invited to the Conference which will be a series of War Council meetings to discuss war organisation and after-war problems, and they will probably be consulted as to peace conditions.

WAR TAXATION IN SINGAPORE.

INCREASED CONTRIBUTION.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
SINGAPORE, Dec. 24.
Recd. 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

The War Taxation Committee recommends the increase of the annual contribution of two hundred thousand sterling to half-a-million and suggests new taxation including the export duty of five per cent. on rubber.

NEW WAR LOAN IN AUSTRALIA.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
MELBOURNE, Dec. 24.
Recd 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

A new 4½ per cent. war loan of eighteen million sterling has been issued. It is redeemable in 1925. The list closes on February 8th.

DEATH OF HON. MUNSHI PRAGNARAIN BHARGAVA.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
LUCKNOW, Dec. 24.

The death of the Hon. Rai Bahadur Munshi Pragnarain Bhargava, member of the local Council, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, Industrial Conference, which occurred in Calcutta yesterday, has caused a deep gloom in Lucknow. He was one of the most respected member of the Indian community.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

The 12th session of the Indian Industrial Conference will meet at the Congress Pandal, Lucknow, at 12 noon on Saturday, the 30th instant. The Subjects Committee meets on the evening of the 29th or the following morning.

BRITISH AMMUNITION OUTPUT.

MARVELLOUS INCREASE IN 1916.

REMARKABLE FIGURES.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

A month ago the weekly production of the British eighteen-pounder ammunition was forty-three times the weekly production in June 1915. That of medium guns and howitzers was sixty-six times and of heavy howitzers 323 times. The total output for one week in November was thirty per cent. more than the entire reserve stock at the beginning of the war.

The monthly output of medium guns in November was nearly forty times the monthly average of the first year and of heavy guns about twelve times. For every ton of explosive used in September, 1914, over 11,000 tons were used in July 1916.

BRITISH FRONT.

ENEMY TRENCHES RAIDED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 26.

A British communiqué says we raided the trenches in the neighbourhood of Hebuterne taking prisoners.

We successfully discharged gas westwards of Messines.

The enemy fired a camouflet at Mount Sorrel but did no damage.

In the raid north of Arras on the 20th two lines of trenches were penetrated in broad daylight on a front of 400 yards. All objectives were attained.

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

A British communiqué says we successfully raided the trenches south-west of lens and east of Armentieres. Some prisoners were taken.

The enemy blew up a camouflet south of St. Eloi but the damage done was slight.

We systematically shelled the enemy defences at Headquarters north of the Somme, doing much damage.

ARTILLERY DUEL ON THE MEUSE.

BRILLIANT FRENCH FEAT IN CHAMPAGNE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 26.

The French communiqué of the evening of the 24th and the afternoon of the 25th record lively artillery work especially on the right bank of the Meuse and small enemy attacks in Champagne south of Avre.

The French detachments in the region of Roye penetrated a German trench. The occupants fled after suffering losses.

LONDON, Dec. 24.
Received 8 a.m. Dec. 25.

A French communiqué says the western front was calm.

THREE ENEMY AEROPLANES BROUGHT DOWN.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PARIS, Dec. 26.
Recd 2-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

A communiqué says the day was comparatively quiet everywhere. Three enemy machines were brought down yesterday on the Somme.

FRENCH COAL CRISIS.

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PARIS, Dec. 24.
Recd 7 p.m., Dec. 25.

The Coal crisis is partly settled. Three thousand men will be sent to mines, the freight tax abolished and the British Government become sole transporter. The Store ships will be divided into three groups, namely coal, commissariat and supply, and fleets proceeding to different ports will be conveyed by transports.

TWO BRITISH DESTROYERS LOST.

COLLISION IN BAD WEATHER.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd 10-45 a.m., Dec. 26.

The Admiralty reports that two destroyers were sunk in a collision in the North Sea on the 21st December in bad weather. Six officers and fifty-one men were lost.

31st INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(Continued from page 5.)

fit and proper" after making an enquiry to be made in any manner that he may think fit, places university education in a large province entirely under the arbitrary authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bohar, and it makes the spread of high education impossible by practically prohibiting the establishment of new colleges.

THE ADMINISTRATION

The next point of conflict lies in the administration itself. It is a preposterous attempt to compel a child to lisp when he is able to speak and force him to crawl on his knees when he is able to walk on his legs. It is no rebellion in the adult members of a family to exercise their discretion and judgment and even to interfere, to some extent, in the management of its affairs, and a reasonable *Peter familias* ought cheerfully to accept a change which is calculated only to relieve and not to dethrone him. What is true of a family is also true of a paternal government. A government must always conform itself to its changing environments and adopt itself to the ideas and requirements of the community which it is called upon to govern. The highest claim of British rule in India is not founded upon its military strength but upon its moral grandeur. Security of life and property is no doubt one of the highest attributes of a settled government, but this attribute is more or less to be found among backward, uncivilised governments anxious for their own existence. A pure form of administration of justice is the bedrock of a civilised Government and it is this administration of justice which more than anything else has laid broad and deep the foundations of British rule in India resting upon the affection and confidence of the people. Anything which tends to undermine that foundation is therefore fraught with danger to the superstructure. As men are born free they naturally value their life and liberty infinitely more than their property. For property is a man's accident, while liberty is his birth-right. In every country, therefore, the administration of criminal justice which affects life and liberty is viewed with much greater interest than the administration of civil justice and that is why even in this country lawyers find the criminal branch of their profession more lucrative than the civil one. In fact the administration of criminal justice in any country is more a political question than a mere settlement of private disputes. The greatest defect in the administration of criminal justice in this country lies in the fusion and combination of the judicial and the executive functions—a system in which the prosecutor and the judge, the man who works up a charge and the man who sits in judgment over that charge are rolled into one. For thirty years the Congress has cried hoarse for the separation of this unholy combination, hundreds of cases from unimpeachable and unchallenged records have been cited from year to year to illustrate the baneful results of the system which is calculated more than anything else, to shake the confidence of the people in the integrity of the administration of justice. Cases have occurred—and they are not few and far between—where racial considerations have outweighed the demands of justice, and the life of an Indian has not received greater considerations than that of a crab or a tortoise. There are of course men who are strong enough to challenge and drive discontent underground, but no one has the power to see underground and watch the secret progress which such discontent silently works in its subterranean course. One complete generation has passed away since the Indian National Congress first drew the attention of Government to the danger underlying this inequitable system. One Viceroy considered his duty discharged by calling the proposal of the Congress a "counsel of perfection": two successive Secretaries of State vied with each other in their pious wish to inaugurate this reform; while at least one Indian administrator denounced the existing system as being unworthy of "rational beings." But the system still continues and seems to possess a charmed life which defies both a natural and a violent death. Sir Harvey Adamson was reported to have actually gone so far as to submit a scheme for the proposed reform in 1908 and all sorts of speculations have been afloat in recent years; but no body knows where the proposal sticks and where it now rests,—whether on the dusty upper shelves of the Indian Secretariat at Simla or in the archives of the India Office at Whitehall. Wherever it may lie its fate has so far been determined by the spirit of bureaucratic rule nervous to part with the narrowest shred of authority. If this one reform had been carried out one half of the causes of the present discontent would have vanished, and it is just possible that the ugly developments with which the Government is at present confronted might never have appeared.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The next point of conflict between the bureaucracy and the people has reference to the Liberty of the Press. The Press is entirely a Western institution so firmly ingrafted with Western education and incorporated with Western methods of administration, that it is now impossible to retain the one and remove the other. In every civilised country the Press has played the double role of the educator of the public and the interpreter to the Government. In India the Press, with all its defects and lapses, as well as its numerous difficulties and disabilities has played an important part in the evolution of National life, and its chequered history is no mean evidence of the firm hold it has over the public mind and the sustaining energies of a growing people. It is not necessary to pursue that history. Suffice it to say that since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Gagging Act of 1878 the Indian Press steadily grew into a power which with a little more sympathetic treatment might easily have been converted into a useful adjunct of the administration. Unfortunately, however, the Anglo-Indian Press began to be jealous of its formidable rival and the bureaucracy grew nervous of its strength. An ugly development for which the Indian Press was no more responsible than for the collision which took place at this time between the *Campertown* and the *Victoria* in the Atlantic, furnished an excuse and afforded an opportunity for again muzzling the Press in a way unprecedented in the history of any civilised country where a public Press exists. The Press Act of 1910, conceived in a spirit of repression has reduced the Indian Press from its position as an independent critic of the Government to that of an institution entirely dependent upon sufferance. Within this short period of less than seven years there has been a regular carnival of Press prosecutions in which newspapers have been suppressed, printing presses confiscated and their securities forfeited to an extent which has bewildered the public and alarmed the journalists. According to a statement furnished by Sir Reginald Craddock in February last there were no less than six press prosecutions and in no less than five cases securities of newspapers were enhanced and no less than two hundred and twenty newspapers, both English and vernacular, ceased publication since the outbreak of the war and up to that date. The liberty of the Indian Press is practically gone and the highest tribunals in the land have declared themselves powerless to protect it. When the Act was passed the extreme rigour of the measure was admitted, but an assurance was given that it would be administered with care and consideration. Whether that assurance has been honoured more in its breach than in its observance may be left to the judgment of the public. And last, not least, an extraordinary woman, Irish by birth, English by marriage and Indian by adoption, has been caught in the meshes of this Act, and the provisions of the Defence Act are set in operation to coerce and restrain her. One Government has under cover of the latter, interdicted Mrs. Besant from profaning its sacred territories with the touch of her feet, while another Government, acting under the former, not content with forfeiting the security of an old press, has demanded an exorbitant security for her paper which threatens it with extinction. Gentlemen, how fast doth contagion spread! Before I could finish writing these pages another Government has issued orders prohibiting her at the eleventh hour not to attend a religious conference held within its territories. I should not be surprised if the British public were to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The lame excuse offered by the C. P. Government for its extraordinary action has, however, failed to satisfy the Indian public. Mrs. Besant is as yet free—I use the word subject to correction—to live in British India and to travel over British India, but not to cross the Vindhya Chains and touch the sacred soil of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Are Bombay and the Central Provinces outside British India? She is charged by the Madras Government with matter seditious printed at her press. The Madras High Court has distinctly found that there was nothing seditious in her writing. Two High Courts have concurrently held that there may be illegal forfeitures under this Act and yet they were powerless to grant any relief. The appellate powers of the High Courts under the Act are a delusion and a snare. Yet there seems to be no disposition on the part of the Government either to withdraw or to modify this retrograde measure, although where a necessity for the bureaucracy arises a Bill may be passed at one sitting of the Council and a Validating Act rushed through to legalise its illegal proceedings. So much for the Law Member's assurances and promises upon the strength of which the Indian members of the Council were led to vote for this dangerous enactment in their desire to help the Government at a critical moment. We may not see eye to eye with Mrs. Besant in many matters, but our hearts go forth to her in her trials and tribulations which not only affect her personal interests but are also a standing menace to the liberties of the Indian subjects of his Majesty. What is Mrs. Besant's offence? Is it that she loves India as she loves her own native land? What is her offence? Is it that her womanly instinct has led to raise her voice in defence of the rights and liberties of a subject race, whose present condition, as contrasted with its ancient civilisation and departed glories, has found a place in her sympathies and got a hold upon her imagination, to which many people of her race are either blind or impervious? The days of chivalry are gone and even womanhood is no protection against bureaucratic insensibilities. If she is seditious, why not try her for sedition in an open court where, if convicted, she will cease to be idolised as a martyr? I hope the matter will not rest here, but will be carried beyond the seas and heard in a free country and by a free people before whose tribunal even an heir-apparent to the Throne bows as low as the humblest subject of the realm to receive his judgment. The shrieks of a dying press, which have been so far drowned in the tumults of a devastating war, will not then go altogether unheeded. Laws may be enacted here to stifle the voice of public opinion, but a great nation nurtured on the lap of freedom cannot long tolerate a method of administration which is so entirely repugnant to its instinct and tradition. It only requires to be correctly informed and duly impressed. It may be difficult to move it; but once in motion even the omnipotent power of the bureaucracy will not avail to arrest its onward march towards the establishment of freedom in this land.

The sufferings of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak are well-known to the public. I am here neither to defend nor to denounce him. The latest proceedings which were instituted against him at Poona have, however, raised a grave issue which cannot be passed over. I cannot persuade myself to believe that in initiating these proceedings the authorities were actuated by any unworthy motive. But I deeply regret that Government was ill-advised in taking them at a time and under circumstances where its action was liable to be misconstrued. In disposing of this case, Sir Stanley Batchelor has enunciated a law, the correctness of which seems to be open to grave doubts. He says that the condemnation of the Civil Service *en bloc* is tantamount to a condemnation of the Sovereign authority, as the service is an agent of that authority. Carried to its legitimate consequences, this dictum would be a bar to any criticism against any of the services. The Criminal Intelligence Department is at present in closer touch with the Government than even the Civil Service and may be regarded, as such, a more accredited agent of the Government. And what is there to prevent the principle here enunciated from being applied to that department, or to the Police in general, and for the matter of that to the village chowkidars? The law of agency cannot apply to the relation between the Crown and its servants. Some years back, this question was pointedly raised when Sir George Campbell who was not inaptly called the Tiberius of the Indian Civil Service charged the "Hindu Patriot" with "ill-will towards Government" for its strong criticism of the Civil Service. The late Kristodas Pal most forcibly and faithfully drew this distinction between the state and the service. He said:—"The words 'ill-will to Government' are not however explicit. Is the word Government in the phrase intended to mean the Queen's government or the Local Administration?—the ruling power or the executive agency?—the Sovereign mistress of the Empire, or her officers in the country? None is better aware than his Honour that the Supreme Power and the administrative authority are quite distinct; and nowhere is this distinction made so broadly and clearly as England. When for instance, Mr. Disraeli denounced the other day the present Government of her Majesty as 'blundering and plundering,' it would be a gross perversion of language to interpret this imputation into 'ill-will to Government,' that is, the Sovereign authority, the Queen herself. * * * It would be impertinent in me to remark that if criticisms of public men and measures be construed into 'ill-will to Government' there is not a single journal in this country, with the slightest pretence to independence, which would not be open to this charge.' In our own times, the fulminations of Sir Edward Carson inciting the Ulstermen to stand against the established government in England are still fresh in the minds of the public and yet this leader of the Orangemen was not considered unworthy of receiving an invitation to a conference from the King himself. In India by a strange irony of fate even the long-established principles of law easily yield to much wider interpretation and judges are not wanting who hold that a sharp criticism of even a member of the ruling race is equivalent to a contempt of the Government itself. Gentlemen, the ill-starred definition of *disaffection* has died out; but here arises another alarming dictum which should engage your serious attention.

THE ARMS ACT.

The Indian Arms Act is another source of irritation which has estranged the feeling between the people and the governing class. Apart from the invidious and irritating character of this measure it has emasculated a whole nation, degraded them not only in their own estimation, but also in the estimation of other races not in any way superior to them, and reduced them to a condition of absolute helplessness. It has stunted the growth of a people, dwarfed its mental stature and debased its moral character, by depriving it of its sense of national self-respect. It has reduced it to the position of political *parahs* smarting under disgrace and without any sense of responsibility. Maharajah Jabbar Jung Bahadur may not carry a single revolver for his own protection; but his driver Jones may have any number of them for his pastime, for purpose of illicit sale, and for shooting not only pheasants but also sometimes a poor Indian peasant whom he may easily mistake for a pig. But all bad measures are like the devil's engine which must at one time or other recoil back on him who uses it, and this is what has happened. It is as easy to govern a country by disarming its entire population as to convert a whole country into a jail. Anarchism has reared its head and there has been a recrudescence of lawlessness in some parts of the country. Dastardly assassinations are committed in crowded cities in broad daylight and daring robberies are committed like candle-light performances in an Opera House. The reply to all this, which has so far been vouchsafed, is that the people are cowards and are unable to help themselves. But whose fault is it if the people are cowards and are unable to help themselves? Is it of the people who have been made cowards and helpless, or of those who have made them so? It is quite refreshing to hear of people seriously advised to arm themselves with brickbats and bamboo *lathies* to face an armed band of robbers and assassins equipped with Martini rifles and Mauser revolvers. Example is said to be better than precept, and those who indulge in ludicrous advice of this sort would do infinitely better to set an example themselves before they can persuade others to follow them. Even Hercules did not venture to challenge the Larnian Hydra without his club. The Arms Act has been practically reduced to a dead letter, for the lawless few are never in want of any fire-arms, but it is the law-abiding many that have been deprived of the use of them. A great Empire and a little mind are said to go ill together. And where the spirit of confidence is wanting in an administration its means and measures must be weak and self-contradictory and thus ultimately defeating its own end.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT AND INTERNMENTS.

And now, where other repressive measures have failed to restore peace and order in the country, a deadlier instrument has been put into requisition. A desperate situation no doubt calls for a drastic remedy and no one has a right to complain if Government is obliged to take an extreme precautionary measure in view of a conflagration which is now devastating all the five continents of the world. The Defence of India Act like the Defence of the Realm Act in England was no doubt necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, but the purposes to which it is being used appear to be entirely foreign to the spirit and outside the scope of this extraordinary enactment, while the safeguards provided in the home-measure have been wholly dispensed with in its operation in this country. Again when the Act was passed an assurance was not wanting that it would be administered with great care and consideration. It was undoubtedly an emergency Act necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances which suspended the ordinary course of law and vested the administration of justice in certain cases entirely in the executive Government of the country.

Gentlemen, the sting of every repressive measure, is in its tail. There is a small clause in these enactments which passed without any debate in the Legislative Council authorising the executive Government to frame rules to give effect to the operation of such a measure. These rules, hatched in secret beyond the ken of the established legislature and beyond the scope of public criticism, suddenly emanate full panoplied like Minerva springing out of Jupiter's head. These rules sometimes thrice the size and volume of the Act itself, govern the proceedings. In the case of the Defence of India Act, Section 2 provides this brief little authority which is now deciding the fate not only of so many young men but also of some of the public men in the country without a trial and without a hearing. The Act provides the slender safeguards of a special tribunal final in its decision, but the rules have taken away even this safeguard in cases of internments and interdictions provided by clause (f) of section 2 of the enactment. A man may invoke the aid of the tribunal if he violates the rules but not when the rules are enforced against him. It may be no injustice done to characterise it as "Jedburgh Justice." The Defence of India Act is essentially a war-measure and although the ezpression "Safety of India" is introduced in its preamble it clearly indicates such safety as may be jeopardised only by the war conditions with the enemy. It never could have been intended to cover public peace and tranquility in the internal administration of the country for which ample provisions already exist in the adjective law of the land. Is there any evidence that the assassinations, dastardly as they are, which are perpetrated mostly against Indian police officers, and some of which took place even before the Serajevo-outrage, have any connection with German intrigue, or is there anything to show that the property plundered in course of armed brigandage find their way or are even intended to find their way to the German Exchequer? The assassination of Earl Mayo and Chief Justice Norman and even the more recent murders of Rand and Ayerst and of Judge Jackson did not necessitate such a measure. It is clear therefore, that the Defence of India Act was never intended for internal administration at home, but only to govern external relations with the enemy countries abroad. But how sad it is to contemplate that it has been so widely diverted from its legitimate scope, and how are its provisions being applied in India! A secret murder perpetrated and burglary committed, and, in fact, every piece of a diabolical crime, whether committed before or after the outbreak of hostilities, where the criminals cannot be detected and punished under the ordinary law of the land, are made the occasion for the use of this lawless law. Where an accused person is tried and acquitted by a court of justice he is good for a capture under the provisions of this Act. In one province alone nearly 600 young men have up to this time been arrested, a considerable number of whom have already been domiciled in different parts of the country, while others are passing through their purgatory in the gloomy cells of Dallanda House preparatory to the receipt of their judgment. These proceedings are generally believed to be based upon the informations supplied by the spies whose occupation would be gone if their activities could not be maintained. We are told that the final judgment in these cases is vested in an officer who is "fit to be a High Court Judge." Yes, but the misfortune is that after all he *is not* a High Court Judge and that makes a world-wide difference. He does not breathe the atmosphere of a High Court, he is not swayed by the considerations of a High Court and he has not the means and materials of a High Court Judge, and it is no consolation to the people to learn that he is fit to be a High Court Judge.

Then it would be something if this would-be High Court Judge were allowed to dispose of these cases in the presence of the accused persons sitting even in camera. Even Roger Casement charged with the blackest of crimes—the charge of high treason and conspiracy with the enemy of the King—had an open trial and a right of appeal. Are the detinues under the Defence of India Act guilty of more heinous crimes and misdemeanour? Even the certificate of a District Officer or of a Divisional Commissioner affords no protection against the report of spies. Anarchism is the common enemy of mankind throughout the world. In every country and every age civilised humanity has refused to recognise the brotherhood of the secret murderer and the dastardly assassin, and none but an anarchist need defend or support an anarchist. But a general crusade against a community in the name of anarchism is justified neither by reason nor logic, nor considerations of expediency Rats are a recognised nuisance and for aught we know they may be also responsible for plague and pestilence. But if rats are so sly as to elude our grasp and so subtle as not to come into the cage laid for them, no man in his senses and even under the greatest provocation should so far forget himself as to be induced to set fire to the house to get rid of these pests.

THE COLOUR BAR.

An almost insurmountable colour bar has been drawn up that runs through almost every department of the State which the children of the soil are forbidden to cross. The entire administration is divided into two compartments, one Imperial and the other Provincial. The boxes are all reserved and it is only the pit which is open to the people. In the Civil Service, in the Educational Service and in the Medical Service everywhere there is a sharp racial distinction irrespective of qualification and competency, which is as arbitrary as it is galling to the feelings and sentiments of the people. Competition, the most effective test of merit, has been superseded by nomination, and offices are largely distributed as mere patronage. The services are visibly deteriorating and strange as it may sound a Government which finds in the caste system of the people such a serious obstacle to their national advancement is sedulously building up an official caste almost as rigid and as exclusive as the Brahmanical hierarchy ever was. The officials have generally lost all touch with the people and there is now no greater passport to public employment than a hereditary claim which grows by what it feeds on. Fusion is the first principle of national growth, but disintegration is the policy of a bureaucracy to counteract to that growth.

IMMIGRATION.

Gentlemen, it is with a sense of pain, shame and humiliation that I approach the question of immigration and indentured labour. India, the granary of the world, is unable to maintain her surplus population and thousands of her children, like her raw materials, are sent away to other countries for employment for the bare necessaries of life. The immigrants, so absolutely necessary for the development of the resources of South Africa, Australia and Canada, are treated there as helots and India is regarded to-day throughout the civilised world as the recruiting ground for coolies necessary for manual labour. I do not hesitate to denounce this degrading system as the last relic of slavery within the British Empire. The question is said to be not free from difficulties, but all these difficulties are due more in the relation of Great Britain in regard to her self-governing colonies than to the condition of India herself. Mr. Gandhi's heroic struggles in South Africa are fresh in the minds of our people and Lord Hardinge's efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Indian settlers in the British Colonies evoked more sharp criticism than active sympathy in the United Kingdom. It is galling that peoples of yesterday who have scarcely a tradition of their own should be permitted to treat as slaves people whose civilisation goes back to the morning of this world. Lord Gladstone in opening the Parliament of the South Africa Union only a few years ago reminded them of this fact and bore striking testimony to the worth of the Indian people. He said,—"I have made special study of Indian history and have later visited India. I wish more South Africans could go there and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African Coast. In fact India has developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilisation and efforts to rise to a higher life." But what avails such testimony? Slaves at home can never be treated as free men abroad. I use the word in the sense in which Mill has used it. "They are slaves," says Mill "who cannot help themselves." Complete Reciprocity and Retaliation are the only remedies for this degrading humiliation inflicted upon our people, and Home Rule alone can furnish the necessary prescription. So long as the Canadian, the South African and the Australian are free to settle in India and also to find their way to the public services of the country, no tinkering measure, no controlling wages will solve the question.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Gentlemen, if the ill-fated Swadeshi Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that in 1905 the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain, but against Germany and Austria, and that if the Authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government, but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties, and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations which have gathered round the question there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government which India does not. In Japan there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interest of India. Gentlemen, I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If, however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account, as in Japan, it can at any rate do much to help and encourage such industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of Commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country, regard being had to the production of raw materials, facilities of communication and labour. Then as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its shares in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And, above all, it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs, while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do all this, it will discharge its function as a benevolent State and remove the shyness of Indian Capital in an unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other

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purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

In this connection I would make a passing reference to an important question in regard to which the opinions of public bodies and associations are being sought, but which, as far as I can see, has not excited much public interest;—I mean the proposal to transfer the railways to private Companies. It is a great economic question and ought not to be as lightly treated as it appears to have been done in certain unexpected quarters. The railways are one of the most important State concerns whose earnings constitute by no means an inconsiderable portion of the State revenues. The great highways of trade and commerce are public domain and belong to the State. To transfer them to any private individual or individuals or to allow them to manage them may be an act amounting to a serious infringement of public rights and an abdication of a State function. We are looking forward to a time when the Government will become national if not in its personnel at least in its aims and purposes and the railways owned by the State and controlled by the State will then be conducted upon national lines and will be the handmaid of the national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development. The time has come for the definite acceptance of this policy.

A NATIONAL MILITIA.

Gentlemen, no people can be either self-respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves. A people always dependent upon Government for the safety of their life and property must be an intolerable burden on the State and a source of weakness to it. A vast empire like British India, without a National army, protected by a nominal force of 70 thousand European soldiers and 140 thousand Indian troops may be a wonderful feat; but it is a most dangerous experiment. If Indians were trained but as volunteers only five years ago, although the Congress has been demanding the privilege for the last twenty-five years, the humiliating spectacle of Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and Lord Derby alternately coaxing and threatening the British people for raising an army of two millions might easily have been avoided and at all events a general conscription, so distasteful to British tradition, might not have to-day become such an imperative necessity. India, with her teeming millions properly trained and equipped, standing behind England can present an invincible front against any power in the world. The question is not one of men and materials, but of trust and confidence. But has not India given sufficient proof of her fidelity and devotion to the British connection? If not, England must stand self-condemned before the eyes of the civilised world.

Such is the situation. Bureaucracy has accomplished its work. It has established order and tranquillity. But it has outgrown itself. Its continued existence is fraught with mischief and unable to cope with the rising forces of popular opinion and with the demands created with the new spirit, it has had recourse to a policy which has excited grave public discontent. What then is to be the remedy? That remedy is what has been so effectively applied in other countries similarly circumstanced; and the remedy which suggests itself to the Indian mind, as it occurred to John Stuart Mill and to Edmund Burke, lies in the grant of

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it Swaraj, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882 when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. "A National League" was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the "Star in the East" was issued which was written in a style and language which if employed at the present day would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when in his famous Resolution of January 1882 he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government." Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, How India Wrought for Freedom, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for self-government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet call for Swaraj which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and wholehearted demand is nothing short of self-government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has however, been raised that we are not yet fit for self-government. Procrastination is the proverbial thief of time. It is also the orthodox plea of a frame of mind which, unable to cope with an untenable position, only asks for an adjournment to seek for a compromise on the most favourable terms.

But before we proceed to discuss this question, we must first divest ourselves of the dogmatism which prevails with equal force, though not with equal authority, on both sides, and try to understand the question in the light of the unanswerable logic of facts. Let us see what are the requisites of self-government and how far the Indian people possess these requisites to reasonably demand self-government.

THREE CONDITIONS OF MILL.

John Stuart Mill in his book on Representative Government lays down three conditions for self-government which are now universally accepted by all writers on political philosophy. These conditions are:—1st, that the people for whom the form of government is intended should be willing to accept it; 2nd, that they must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing; and 3rd, that they must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes. To these three tests I will add a fourth, by way of a rider, directly to meet the argument of our critics,—have the people given satisfactory evidence of their capacity for Self-Government?

EDUCATION NO TEST.

It will be noticed that Mill nowhere lays down Education as a separate and independent test for Self-Government and this is for a very good reason. Education no doubt sharpens and stimulates the other tests; but it cannot be the sole or even the main test for a National Government. The Hindus in the 13th century and the Mussalmans of India in the 18th century were the masters of no inconsiderable share of unprofitable learning; but it neither developed their national solidarity, nor strengthened their national character, and both in their turn fell an easy prey to a superior force. The Mahomedan historian admits that India was conquered not by superior education, but by superior Islamic national solidarity and strength. On the other hand the Slave Republic of Liberia was established by an uneducated mass of emigrants from America upon their liberation towards the beginning of the 19th Century. Then take the case of Europe. There also education has not played a very important part in determining the form of government suited to each country. According to the latest statistics available Norway and Sweden carry the largest percentage of educated population, it being 97, England has a percentage of 87, France 78, Germany 91 and Portugal 56. If education had been the determining factor, Norway and Sweden would not have been practically an absolute Monarchy and France or Portugal a Republic, while Germany would have long ceased to be a military despotism where a subaltern can with impunity punish judges and magistrates for the grave offence of not being deferential to his uniform and the theory of the Superman sways the minds of 80 millions of human beings of the highest culture and erudition in the world. What was the education of England during the reign of Charles I, and was not the Magna Charta wrested from a despotic king by a band of uneducated barons who could sign their names only by scrolls and marks?

In 1821 there were nearly 18,500 schools with 650,000 scholars in Great Britain. In the year 1858 the number of schools rose to 122,000 and the scholars to over 3,000,000. We have it on the authority of the Education Commission of 1882 that prior to 1854 when the first Educational Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued there were merely a million of students in British India receiving elementary education in the various indigenous institutions. The statement of the member of Education in 1914 shows that there are at present 127,000 schools with over 5,000,000 scholars receiving such education. It would thus appear that the number and the percentage of literates in Great Britain in the reign of George IV were not higher than those of India in the reign of His Gracious Majesty George V, and that the number, though not the percentage, of literates in India in 1914 does not compare very unfavourably with that of Great Britain in 1858. And yet what was the constitution of Great Britain in 1821 and what is the constitution of British India in 1916! Education therefore, though it may help and promote Self-Government, is not an indispensable condition or a condition precedent to Self-Government.

FIRST CONDITION.

The first condition needs not much elaboration, as the willingness of the people for self-government is not only admitted, but is said to be premature and somewhat extravagant. The press and the platform even in their present muzzled condition are ringing with the cry for self-government and on every occasion whether in the heated Council Chambers or in the serene atmosphere of literary discussions there is an insistent demand for self-government as the only remedy for the present situation.

SECOND AND THIRD CONDITIONS.

The second and the third conditions may be considered together. India, self-contained and contented, with its natural defences and internal resources presents a bulwark against all foreign aggression. Its danger is not from without but from within. During the last sixty years since the Crown has assumed the reins of government it must be admitted that there has not been even the ripple of a disturbance and the people, educated or uneducated, despite all their vexations and disappointments, their hardships, their grievances and the irritating measures which have so often provoked their patience, have throughout stood fast by the Crown. They have protested, but have nowhere resisted the measures of the Government. Since the outbreak of the war, India has been practically denuded of soldiers and it has been possible for Government to maintain peace and order throughout the vast country with only the help of the police as it exists in India. Those who recklessly cry "the wolf" ought to know that if the wolf had really been anywhere in the field, it would not have been possible long to indulge in this foolish trick. It ought to be fairly conceded that the credit of this remarkable achievement is evenly divided between the Government and the people,—the confidence of the people in the Government and the trust of the Government in the people; and that any attempt on the part of either to ap appropriate it to itself the whole credit is an absurd pretension. The spirit of co-operation and self-help infused into the minds of our people mainly by the inspiring breath of the Congress, and the numberless societies, missions and associations which have sprung up throughout the country with philanthropic and other aims and objects, are sufficiently indicative of the quickening of a national life, and the courage and endurance displayed by our young men in every public cause, are all unmistakable evidence of the readiness of the people to support the administration. In flood and famine, in fires and fairs and in other positions of dangers, difficulties and distress there are thousands of youngmen who eagerly rush forwrad to help the administration without waiting for recognition or expecting any reward and despite police surveillance to which they are subjected. The Hospital Ships furnished by Bombay and Madras, the Ambulance Corps and the Double Company provided by Bengal and the various war funds raised throughout the country are no mean evidence of the willingness and readiness of the people to co-operate with the administration. All these, in my opinion, afford striking evidence of the devotion and the capacity for self-sacrifice which our countrymen are prepared to incur in the public interests and which constitute the most valuable qualification for self-rule. This shows that our people are willing and able to make the Government stand and are ready to make the necessary sacrifices for the establishment of National Government. Lapses no doubt there are, but do they not occur even among people invested with full measure of self-government? A National Government would shift the burden as well as its odium and unpopularity from the state to the people and would necessarily make them still more alive to their responsibilities. It is power which creates responsibility. Responsibility without power is a debt without security which cannot be enforced if left undischarged.

It was George Yule who, twenty years ago, speaking at the first Congress held in the United Provinces, said that all political agitations have to pass through three stages—that of Ridiculle, Opposition and Concession. We have long passed the stage of Ridicule and almost passed the second stage and we are now practically on the debatable ground between Opposition and Concession standing more on the firm soil of the latter than on the slippery ground of the former.

There are however those who say "not yet." Not yet! Then 'when'?—asks the Indian Nationalist. But here the Oracle is dumb and Echo only answers—'when'! Edwin Bevan's parable of "the Patient and the Steelframe" is cited and the people are strictly enjoined to lie in peace and possess their souls in patience until their political *Nirvana* is accomplished. Similies and metaphors are not safe guides in practical life, for all fables are but fallacies clothed in equivocal language which capitvates the imagination and deludes the reason. For even the patient in the "steel frame" requires a gradual relaxation and occasional readjustment of his splints and bandages and, above all, a steady, substantial improvement in his dietary arrangements as after all it is the food and nourishment and not the splints and bandages, that are calculated to give him strength and cure him of his injuries. You cannot indefinitely keep him on milk and sago to help either the "knitting of the bones" or the "granulation of the flesh." Our critics however would enjoin "perfect quiet and repose" without prescribing any kind of diet until the people shall have in their spirit of quiescence fully recovered themselves in their steel frame. If any illustration were actually needed, one might fairly suggest that the case of either the swimmer or the rider would probably furnish a more apposite object lesson. You cannot expect the one to be an expert jockey without training him on the back of a horse, as you cannot expect the other to be an expert swimmer without allowing him to go into water. There must be repeated falls and duckings before any efficiency can be attained by either. Admitting for argument's sake—and there can be no prejudice in such an admission—that the Indians are not yet as fit for self-government as the Europeans are, does it follow that they must only patiently contemplate in their steel frame without a stir till the day of their release? If that be so the day of their redemption will, in all probability, maintain its ever receding distance and the vision of the patient never realised. There is a school for the lawyer, the physician, the educationist and the engineer where he can obtain his passport and begin his profession; but is there any school or college where an aspirant can be admitted to his degree for self-government? It is through self-government that the art oof self-government can be either taught or acquired. One must be drilled in the art of administration before he can acquired the steady use of his faculties in the work of practical administration. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, it is the istituion of self-government which constitutes the best training ground for self-government. It is through failure that success can be achieved in practical politics. Such failure was fully anticipated by Lord Ripon in his famous Resolution of 1882, and it is through such failures that the British peoplle have obtained the constitution of which they are so justly proud. In the begions of James I, Charles I and his successors, what was the British constitution and the status of the British peoplle when Parliament could be summoned or dismissed at the pleasure of a despotic sovereign and titles and offices were freely bought and solld without any regard to public interest? The mass of the people were steeped in ignorance, whille the highest officers in the State were not sometimes free from intrigue and corruption. Yet theBritish people fought for their rights and liberties and obtained them in the midst of these unfavourable conditions. If they had ever allowed themselves to be kept in a steel frame until "nature resumed her active process," where would have been the splendid fabric of British constitutional freedom to-day? Nature never helps those who do not help themselves.

ARE INDIANS FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

Now let us turn to a discussion of the rider which was started at the beginning of this question. Gentlemen, our critics have already begun sorting our politicians. I do not pretend to be a politician; but even if I were one, I would far rather go with the "politicians of the baser sort than agree to rise one degree higher, or one degree lower as you may choose to call it, in the estimation of our critics, while as to the superlative degree I would ungrudgingly have it reserved for those who have so far forgotten the traditions of their own race as to completely divest divest themselves of the instincts of a free and liberty-loving people to which they ethnologically belong. The question to be answered is,—Have the Indian people given fair proof of their capacity for self-government? I do not like to indulge in theories: **Let facts answer.**

IN THE NATIVE STATES.

India possesses an area of 1,800,000 square miles with a population of 316 millions, of which over 700,000 square miles, or more than one-third of this area, with a population of over 70 millions, or close upon one-fourth, belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators, and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India in certain directions, particularly in respect of education, judicial reforms and industrial development which are the most sacred functions of a constitutional government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators who have achieved such brilliant results in the administration of these states are sometimes drawn from his Majesty's subjects in British India. Men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Rao Bahadur Sirdar Sansar Chandra Sen, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, Sir Sashiah Shastri, Mr. Ranga Charlu, Mr. Gouri Shankar Ojha, Mr. Seshadri Aiyer, Mr. B. L. Gupta, Mr. Nilambar Mukerjee and Mr. A. R. Banejee who have governed various Native States with such consummate ability and conspicuous success, have indisputably vindicated the capacity of their countrymen for the highest administrative offices. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these distinguished administrators had their lot cast solely in British India many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as deputy-magistrates, a few as disdrict officers and fewer still as officiating commissioners of divisions.

IN THE VARIOUS SERVICES.

Then, have not Indians in British India given practical proof of their administrative capacity to qualify themselves for Self-Government? Have they not in the charge of districts both as judicial and executive officers, and have they not in charge of disrticts both as judicial and exrevenue, or in the intricate department of audit and account given sufficient evidence of their ability and capacity for efficient administration? Have they not been tried in the humbler stages of local self-government as well as in the higher legislative assemblies? They have been tried in the inner circles of the Provincial as well as the Imperial administration and they have been also tried at the real seat of authority in Whitehall. True, Sir S. P. Sinha might never have aspired to the chair occupied by Maine and Macaulay; but has England sent any more Maines and Macaulays to fill htat chair? Or was Sir S. P. Sinha or Sir Syed Ali Imam an altogether unworthy successor of Sir James Stephen or Sir C. P. Ilbert? In the great department of administration of justice they have been tried in the highest tribunals of the land where they have acted and are acting as Chief Justices with as much credit and distinction as any brought out from England, while in the domain of Education they have as Vice-Chancellors managed important universities in a way which has extorted the admiration, if not the envy, of the most captious critics. They have also managed with remarkable success the affairs of one of the foremost, if not the foremost, corporations in the country. All these they have done, and if they have not done more, it is their misfortune and not their fault.

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS.

Self-control, strength of mind and fidelity are among the highest virtues of an administrator, and judged by these tests, have not Indians acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of the best traditions of any service in the world? Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's resignation of his seat in the Executive Council is still a mystery to the public. But whatever may be its solution, it is an open secret that at a critical time he withdrew the resignation that he had tendered and stood loyally by the Government. Hay anybody ever heard the faintest whisper of this incident from the lips of Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha? Then take another case. The Partition of Bengal had stirred the people of Bengal to a state of feverish excitement unprecedented in their history. Petitionr and protests to Viceroys and Ministers were of no avail and after seven years of persistent agitation the people were awaiting in breathless suspense the decision of his Majesty. A despatch from the Governor-General in Council recommended a modification of the partition in August 1911 and Sir Syed Ali Imam was one of the signatories to this eventful document. Yet on the 12th December the Royal Proclamation came as a complete surprise both upon the local Governments as well as upon the people. The Partition was said to have been effected in the interest of the Mahomedans. But did Sir Syed Ali Imam either in his quivering lips or tell-tale eyes betray in the slightest degree the dead secret of the prison house within this anxious period of five months?

The President then replied to the argument advanced by India's enemies that there are so many communities and subdivisions in this caste-ridden country that if self-government were conceded King Stork would one by one swallow up all the frogs and a babel of disorder would follow in which men would go for one another's throats and said that all such apprehensions were ill-founded and unjustified. Another difficulty put forward, was the eternal question of the differences between the Hindus and Mahomedans of India. But that game had been nearly played out, and the Hindus and the Mahomedans had practically solved the question. Mr. Mazumdar next referred to the example of the Phillipines and said that what was needed, was a thorough change in the constitution irrespective of all considerations of larger employment of the children of the soil. The appearance of anarchy was a source of the deepest concern but the Sovereign remedy for public distempers, was conciliation and not coercion.

OUR DEMANDS.

Mr. Mazumdar then referred to the

(Continued on page 10).

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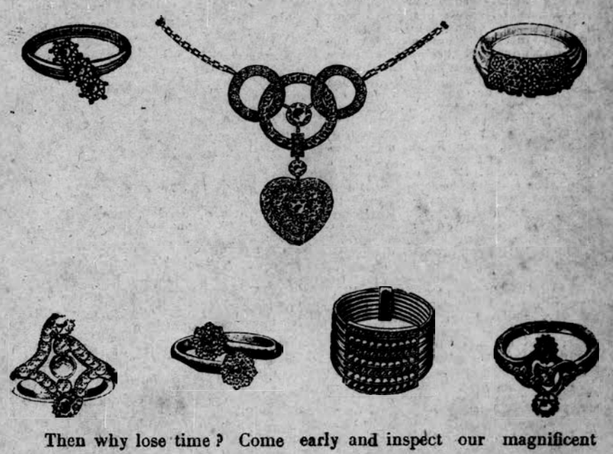

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31st INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(Continued from page 9.)

assurances of British statesmen about the post-war position of India and said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few "daring and impertinent" proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticisms of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands, while others have denounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public; while, as I read it, this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhancible maximum of our demands; nor do I understand the have already been explained to the pub signatories to it to mean that their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the Treaty or Berlin may be signed. The signatories to the memorandum have, however, done me one great service. They have borne the brunt of the fusilade and made my passage less difficult, so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of their fire. As to the other side of the shield our misfortune is that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction and for such a people as ourselves to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough and to spare. However that may be, here are our demands which God willing are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the dominions. India must have complete autonomy financial, legislative as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local governments would be impossible. For this the Services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General with a number of ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non-parliamentary cabinet.

6. The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one-fifth may be appointed by the Cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills, and except the military estimates the entire Budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each Province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a Cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province 75 members all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should of course be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State. The judicial administration whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the Statute Book and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The Commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to his Majesty's Indian subjects.

14. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the Corporations of the Presidency towns the District and the Taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self-governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

The above is a summary of our demands. We do not fix any time-limit, for the duration of the war is uncertain and there must be a transitory period through which the process must pass. But if we fix no time-limit, we agree to no indefinite postponement either. Some of these proposals can and ought to be immediately carried out and there is no reason why they should wait for the termination of the war; while there are others which cannot of course be settled until the time for the readjustment of the Empire arrives; but we must be distinctly understood to maintain that this period should not be treated as a further extension granted to the present system of administration and its methods. There must be henceforth a distinct tendency visible in every branch of the administration to conciliate the people and inspire trust and confidence in the future policy of the Government. As words without thoughts never to heaven go, so promises without performance and sympathy without action can nevevr touch the hearts of a people. Patience has often been prescribed as the sovereign remedy for all distempers; but it cannot be denied that when the most skilful physican is unable for a long time to show any sign of improvement and on the contray there are continued symptoms of aggravation, a suspicion naturally may arise in the mind of the patient as to the skill of the physician or the efficacy of his methods. On our part, gentlemen, we must be content to ascend.

STEP BY STEP.

It is no argument to say that you have long acquired the capacity to make the ascent. You might have ten years before safely tried the experiment; but it does not follow that you can therefore cover ten steps or even two steps at a time. Whenever you have to ascend you must begin from the base and rise steadily and cautiously upwards. Of course it would be no progress if you gain one step and lose two. Doubtless we ought carefully to see that we lose no ground and then even if our progress be slow we may be sure of reaching our destined goal.

CONCLUSION.

The President next referred to the need of an organised Congress propaganda in England and in conclusion said:—

Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I have exhausted your patience although I have failed to exhaust my theme. My last words are to those bright young faces whom I see before me. My dear young friends and countrymen, you are our hostages to posterity. Every generation has a perpetual devolution and succession of rights and responsibilities: The acquisition of one generation becomes the heritage of the next, and it is the duty of each generation not only to enjoy what it receives from its predecessor, but also to transmit its heritage consolidated, augmented and improved to the one coming after it. Many of those who preceded you in this national struggle have been gathered to their fathers, while those who are still in the field belong to a fast vanishing generation. You ought now to press forward to take their place and hold aloft the banner which is drooping from their sinking hand. Like the mother of the Grachii India, poor India, shorn of her pristine grandeur and glory has only to boast of *you* as her "precious jewels." Remember of what great nation you are born. It was for you that in the early morning of the world the *Vedas* were revealed and in a later period democratic Islam came with the *Koran* and the practical Parsi with the *Zend Avesta*. Yours is the heritage of three of the most ancient civilisations of the world which have formed as it were a glorious confluence of three streams in this sacred land of yours; while to these in the dispensation of an inscrutible Providence a fourth has recently been added to constitute a *Sagara-Sangama* for the deliverance of your race. It was for you that *Vyasa* wrote and *Valmiki* sung and it was for you that *Patanjali* evolved the loftiest of philosophies and the *Geeta* expounded the sublime mysteries of life. It was here that more than two thousand years ago *Buddha Gautama*, the truest and greatest benefactor of mankind, first taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood of men, which now sways the minds of one-fifth of the population of this habitable globe; and it was here that five hundred years ago Sree Chaitanya preached the gospel of love, fraternity and equality from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Narbbudda; and now modern civilisation is prostituting science, filling the air, land and water with deadly engines for the destruction of God's creation. But let us not be great only in the worship of a great past. A mighty wave of changes is surging throughout this world and India is passing through a momentous transition. Her future is in your hands: You can either make or mar that future. If I were asked, what was the first demand of the Motherland upon her children at this juncture, I would unhesitatingly answer that it is Patriotism. And the second?—Patriotism. And the third?—Patriotism. I do not mean that morbid sentiment which rises like a rocket and falls like a stone; not that sentiment which takes a man off his feet and lands him in disasters; not that sentiment which panders to passion and does not appeal to reason; but I mean that supreme virtue which enlightens the head and ennobles the heart, and under the heavenly inspiration of which a man forgets his self and merges his individuality, like a drop in an ocean, in the vast all-absorbing interest of his country, feeding only on self-sacrifice and ever growing on what it feeds. To the Indian Nationalists their country must be their religion "taught by no priests but by the beating hearts" and *her* welfare their common faith "which makes the many one". Hushed be the whispers of jealousy and spite and silenced be the discordent notes of rancerous dissensions amongst you. Sink all your differences in a supreme common cause. Unite and stand solidly shoulder to shoulder resolved either to conquer or to die. Or, what is life worth if we cannot live like men? Firm and resolute in your purpose, be always manly and dignified in your attitude and sober and cautious in your steps. Be loyal to your king and devoted to your country. Difficult as your task is, constitutional must be your method: There is no royal road to freedom. Reverses there must be, but reverses should only stiffen your backs. Do not despair, for despair is the keynote of failure. The pendulum may be swinging forward and backward; but look up and see the hand of invisible Time is perpetually marking its progress on the dial of the destiny of your country. Above all, remember that nations are not born but made. They must grow from within but cannot be made to grow from without. You must stand on your own legs and be prepared to fight it out with heart within and God over head. *Dieu-et-Mon-Droit* is the motto emblezoned on the British Coat of Arms and as citizens of the British Empire 'God and My Right' ought to be your watch-word and battle-cry in the bloodless revolution which is taking place in this country. Be ambitions but not proud; be humble but aspire to a nobler, manlier and healthier life. What have you to boast of but your vanished glories! You are Uitlanders in your own country. In the burning words of the Father of the Congress—

"What avail your wealth, your learning,
Empty titles, sordid trade?
True Self-rule were worth them all!
Nations by themselves are made."

BANDE MATARAM.

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(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 26.

The joint-conference of the All-India Congress Committee and All-India Moslem League, which was adjourned in Calcutta, was held last evening in the Congress pavilion. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji presided and almost all the members of the League and Congress Committees were present.

The chief point at issue was the percentage of Moslem representation in the Councils in Bengal and the United Provinces. At the Calcutta meeting no settlement was arrived at on this question; League members wanted fifty per cent. representation to which Congress members could not agree At last evening's meeting after considerable discussion it was agreed that Mahomedans should have forty per cent. representation in Bengal. As regards the United Provinces no agreement was arrived at last evening as the Hindus were prepared to give only 25 per cent., while the Moslems insisted on 33 per cent representation. The Conference was adjourned till this morning at 9 a.m.

The Conference met at 9 a.m., to-day and lasted till 12 noon, but no decision could yet be arrived at. The Hindus were prepared to raise the percentage of representation from 25 to 30 per ctnt., but the Moslems claimed 33 per cent. The Conference was again adjourned till this evening.

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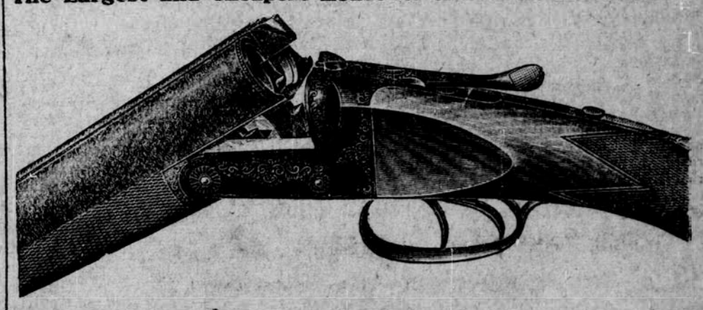

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WEATHER REPORT

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

SIMLA, Dec. 25.

Rainfall has continued at Port Blair, but none has occurred elsewhere. The temperature is lower than usual in the central parts of the country.

Forecast :—Dry weather.

Earthquake report :—An earthquake shock of slight intensity at its origin about 150 miles away, was recorded on the Simla Seismograph at 13 hours 4 minutes, yesterday afternoon.

SUN, MOON AND TIDES IN BOMBAY.

The following are the hours and heights of the tides in Bombay Harbour during the ensuing week. Hour stated in Bombay Mean Time depth of water is at Prince's Dock :—

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	HIGH WATER. Bombay Mean time.	Depth on Still.	LOW WATER. Day of Month.	Bombay Mean time.	Depth on Still.
	Dec.	h. m.	ft. in.	Dec.	h. m.	ft. in.
Tues.	26	m 0 11	30 6	26	m 6 12	18 2
		0 38a	27 7		5 54a	13 11
Wed.	27	m 0 53	30 9	27	m 6 58	17 8
		0 53a	27 7		6 41a	14 6
Thur	28	m 1 35	30 6	28	m 7 44	17 5
		1 44a	27 5		7 29a	15 7
Fri.	29	m 2 18	29 10	29	m 8 32	17 3
		2 38a	26 11		8 19a	16 11
Sat.	30	m 3 3	28 11	30	m 9 26	17 4
		3 37a	26 3		9 13a	18 6
Sun.	31	m 3 51	27 9	31	m 10 27	17 6
	Jan.	4 45a	25 8	Jan.	10 19a	20 0
Mon.	1	m 4 44	26 9	1	m 11 35	17 7
		6 9a	25 7		11 54a	21 3

The following are the hours of sunrise and sunset according to Indian Standard Time during the ensuing week :—

Dec.		Sunrise.		Sunset.	
,, 26	(Tuesday)	,, 7h. 10m.	,,	6h.	9m.
,, 27	(Wednesday)	,, 7h. 10m.	,,	6h.	10m.
,, 28	(Thursday)	,, 7h. 11m.	,,	6h.	10m.
,, 29	(Friday)	,, 7h. 11m.	,,	6h.	11m.
,, 30	(Saturday)	,, 7h. 11m.	,,	6h.	12m.
,, 31	(Sunday)	,, 7h. 12m.	,,	6h.	12m.
Jan 1	(Monday)	,, 7h. 12m.	,,	6h	13m.

PHASES OF THE MOON :—

New Moon	1916 Dec.	26th.,	8h.	1.2m. a.m.
First Quater	,,	31st.,	5h.	37.2m. p.m.
Full Moon	1917 Jan	8th.,	1h.	12.0m. ,,
Last Quarter	,,	16th.,	5h.	12.1m. p.m.

DAILY WEATHER REPORT.

Summary of observations recorded at 8 hours on Tuesday, the 26th December 1916, giving data for the preceding 24 hours :—

The Punjab.—Skies are lightly clouded in the east Punjab and clear elsewhere. Night temperature is in defect in the east Punjab.

The United Provinces.—Skies are clear. Temperature remains in defect.

Sind and Rajputana.—Skies are clear or lightly clouded. Humidity is in excess in lower Sind and normal or in defect elsewhere Night temperature continues in defect in Rajputana

Gujarat, Kathiawar and Central India West —Skies are lightly clouded in Kathiawar and clear elsewhere. Night temperature is in defect in Central India, West, North Gujarat and Cutch.

The Central Provinces.—Skies are clear or lightly clouded. Humidity is normal or in defect. Temperature continues in defect.

The Konkan.—Skies are clear or lightly clouded. Temperature is in defect in the south Konkan.

The Bombay Deccan and Hyderabad.—The skies are clear. Temperature continues in defect.

General Remarks.—Weather has again been dry. Temperature is in defect in the United Provinces, the central parts of the country and in the Deccan.

A few showers may occur in the extreme south.

OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT 8 a. m. on TUESDAY, the 26th of December 1916.

(STATIONS.	Temp in Shade. Maximum of past 24 hours	Minimum of past 24 hours	Humidity. 8 A. M.	Rainfall. Past 24 hours	Total 1st Nov. to date.	Departure, 1st Nov. to date.
PERSIAN GULF—						
Bushire	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. (24th Dec.)	69.2	50.0	74	..	0.04	—4.06
Jask	80.8	58.2	49	..	0.02	—1.39
Do. (th Dec.)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muskat	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. (25th Dec.)	79.1	64.0	64	..	0	—0.65
PUNJAB—						
Multan	70.6	39 6	68	..	0	—0.29
Rawalpindi	67.8	33.1	70	..	0.33	—0.61
Lahore	70.8	36.3	88	..	0.02	—0.34
Hissar	69.2	32.3	69	..	0	..
Ambala	67.9	38.3	86	..	0	—0.63
Delhi	68.5	40.2	58	..	0	—0.50
UNITED PROVINCES—						
Agra	69.6	41.0	63	..	0	—0.30
Mainpuri	68.5	39.1	86	..	0.01	—0.47
Jhansi	73.4	39.7	78	..	0.78	0.46
Cawapore	67.2	39.7	88	..	2.20	1.76
Allahabad	68.0	38.1	91	..	0.61	—0.06
SIND AND RAJPUTANA						
Jacobabad	76.3	39.8	69	..	0	—0.19
Karachi	75.6	50.9	78	..	0	—0.44
Aimer	68.8	36.4	67	..	0	—0.39
Jaipur	72.0	39.6	43	..	0	—1.32
Kotah	75.6	44.6	54	..	0	—0.31
Mount Abu	?	48.6	22	..	0	—0.33
GUJARAT, KATHIAWAR AND CENTRAL INDIA WEST—						
Bhuj	80.2	50.7	65	..	0	—0.15
Dwarka	81.2	62.4	80	..	0	—0.06
Veraval	77.4	61.6	49	..	0	—0.35
Rajkot	82.1	48.3	48	..	0	—0.25
Bhavnagar Para	81.8	54.6	58	..	0	—0.21
Surat	84.3	57.8	53	..	0	—0.14
Ahmedabad	84.6	52.6	35	..	0	—0.19
Deesa	83.6	42.4	37	..	0	—0.15
Neemuch	74.9	44.5	45	..	0	—0.28
Indore	76.2	44.1	61	..	0.86	0.36
CENTRAL PROVINCES—						
Jubbulpore	70.3	38.1	66	..	2.76	2.07
Seagor	72.6	40.8	30	..	0.32	—0.56
Mochangabad	70.1	47.4	59	..	1.42	0.54
Khandwa	79.6	44.9	62	..	1.06	0.36
Akola	78.3	46.1	58	..	2.42	1.42
Amraoti	77.7	49.5	50	..	0.46	—0.53
Nagpur	75.2	48.8	54	..	1.57	0.64
Chanda	76.5	42.6	71	..	0.62	—0.37
Raipur	73.5	46.6	72	..	2.36	1.68
KONKAN—						
Bombay	83.0	68.8	73	..	0.72	0.27
Ratnagiri	86.3	63.5	57	..	7.26	6.72
Marmugao	79.3	4.6	65	..	8.98	8.26
Karwar	85 9	66.1	83	..	8.46	6.64
BOMBAY DECCAN AND HYDERABAD—						
Malegaon	81.5	48 6	57	..	1.33	0.76
Ahmednagar	76.8	42.0	49	..	0.65	—0.26
Poona	78 6	47.1	81	..	1.91	0.91
Sholapur	78.8	52.1	40	..	8.28	6.94
Bijapur	75.8	47.8	57	..	9.47	8.33
Belgaum	75.6	48.9	68	..	10.67	8.91
Aurangabad	77.5	47.3	46	..	6.58	—0.15
Nizamabad(Indur).	76.9	46.7	50	..	1.34	0.66
Hyderabad	78.6	49 8	40	..	2.44	1.39
MALABAR AND CEYLON						
Mangalore	87.6	66 4	63	..	4.75	1.60
Calicut	84.8	67.9	85	..	5.70	—9.01
Cochin	87.7	71 5	79	..	4.58	—3.17
Colombo	85.8	66.4	74	..	10.07	—7.04
MADRAS. (EXCLUDING MALABAR) AND MYSORE—						
Masulipatam	80.8	66.7	86	..	10.85	4.20
Bellary	81.8	54.2	44	..	2.17	0.10
Cuddapah	84.3	57.7	71	..	3.49	—0.68
Madras	83.2	65 2	81	..	17.91	—0 53
Bangalore	78.1	54.3	76	..	10.14	6.87
Coimbatore	86.9	62 8	70	..	5.78	1.52
Trichinopoly	87.1	63 6	72	..	2.88	—4.86
Negapatam	82 8	69 8	94	..	12.43	—13.04

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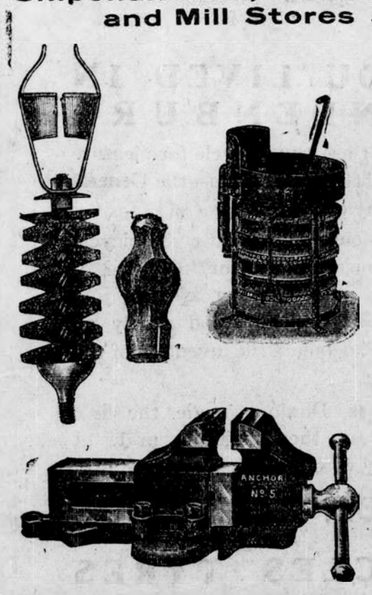

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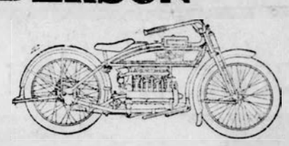

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